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ABRIDGMENT

OF

SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON'S WORK

ENTITLED

"THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND ITS REMEDY."

WITH AN

EXPLANATORY PREFACE AND AN APPENDIX.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE "SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE
SLAVE TRADE AND FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA."

SECOND EDITION.

66

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P R E F A C E .

THIS Abridgment is by no means intended to supersede the reading of the deeply interesting volume of which it pretends to give only an imperfect outline ; and still less to assume the critic's office towards a performance which, by general admission, has laid the philanthropic public under great and lasting obligations.

Its circulation at the present moment has been chiefly designed to economize the time and the expense of a numerous class of inquirers into the wrongs of Africa, and to prepare the minds of others for a season of approaching leisure, which may enable them to give to the whole subject a more attentive consideration.

The introductory chapter to a mere compendium must obviously be confined to a few remarks, calculated to bring into hasty review the author's leading discoveries, his principles, and his plan ; and to notice the progress they have already made in public opinion.

Sir Fowell Buxton's first object was to prove, by the present appalling extent of the Slave Trade, the deplorable failure of all preceding methods of extinguishing it, and next to establish the true remedy.

This remedy may be stated in a single sentence, and almost in his own words,—“ We must elevate the minds of the people of Africa, and call forth the capabilities of her soil.”

To the establishment of this theory all the resources of his mind have been directed ; and upon its correctness, the entire success of his plan depends. In the execution of the first part of his laborious duty, Sir Fowell Buxton conducts the reader through all the several stages of the dreadful traffic till he reaches its fatal close—and noting down the several items of the sad account, he at length reports the astounding total.

It is unspeakably painful and humiliating to learn, that after a lapse of more than thirty years of effort, an expenditure of more than fifteen millions of money, and a melancholy consumption of British life, sacrificed in vain attempts to abolish the trade by compulsory means, it has notwithstanding actually doubled within that period ; it still rages with increasing fury ; and the sufferings of its victims have been aggravated by the means employed for its prevention. For, whereas in the year 1808 the computation of negroes annually exported to America amounted to only 70,000, and even of this number only

25,000 were devoted to the countries at present engaged in the trade, it is now computed that 120,000 are annually transported to that continent; 50,000 are annually reduced to Mahomedan slavery; 300,000 more annually perish; and the entire annual loss to Africa amounts to 500,000 persons.

As the inevitable effect of such outrage and desolation, it may readily be conceived that Africa, though inexhaustibly rich in the resources of her soil, and, despite her losses, still teeming with inhabitants,—intensely desirous of obtaining European commodities and instruction—yet remains an uncultivated desert, degraded by superstition, and deluged in blood.

All these facts, Sir Fowell Buxton has established by a plenitude of proof which admits of no material refutation. But the great problem was as yet unsolved. He had yet to discover a cure for these ever recurring and still increasing enormities, which should be simple and unexceptionable in principle, sure in its operation, and adapted not only to the purpose of putting down the Slave Trade, but likewise in good measure of repairing the evils it has occasioned.

In order to this, it was necessary to ascertain wherein its hidden vitality consisted,—the subtle element which thus sets all divine and human laws at defiance.

That secret he has detected in the enormous profit of the trade: a profit amounting to 180 per cent.; and absolutely incapable of being reduced below the level of successful smuggling!

This discovery at once suggested his own peculiar remedy; a remedy which neither underrates the intrinsic force of truth, even upon the most callous of mortals, the slave-dealers, nor rejects the collateral aid of a preventive policy, even though fruitless when employed alone; but which, while availing itself of both these, aims more especially at converting the grand incentive to the accursed traffic—the desire of gain—into one of the chief instruments for its destruction.

If the deluded Africans (the least guilty party) could once be brought generally to perceive that their own true interest, not less than their bounden duty, prohibits the Slave Trade;—that this traffic is not only an enormous crime, but also to them an incalculable loss;—that the labourer at home is worth more to his country than the same person would be as an exported slave;—that the profits of free industry and innocent commerce would, in their ease, immeasurably exceed the gains of the Slave Trade; and, that the latter is, and always must be, to them an insuperable barrier against the successful prosecution of the former, then the result would be both speedy and certain. The slave traffic would be for ever abolished in Africa, by Africans themselves, acting under the united influence of Christian principle and enlightened self-love.

Sir Fowell Buxton has laboured successfully to prove that such a result is attainable; he cites many instances of chiefs and nations thoroughly impressed with the impolicy and misery of the Slave Trade, and earnestly desirous to exchange it for the advantages of British alliance and commerce; and he thence deduces a strong presumption that the same salutary conviction might, by the use of appropriate means, become permanent and universal.

This field he now selects for renewed efforts of British philanthropy. His plan is to elevate the native mind by aiding the general diffusion of religious truth; to subvert the Slave Trade by disclosing the wonders of the native soil; by promoting agriculture; and by encouraging legitimate commerce; to cherish free industry and trade by all the appliances of British capital, skill, and example; and to throw over the nascent civilization and prosperity of Africa, the ample shield of British protection.

Such are the principal means he now suggests for raising a continent from its ruins, and redeeming from thraldom a tenth part of the whole family of mankind.

In all this, it may be repeated, there is nothing opposed to past experience, nor above the range of human probabilities. Providence, too, appears at the present epoch to have prepared peculiar facilities for its accomplishment. Peace prevails almost universally; a highway is now opened through the Niger into the interior of Africa; the power of steam overcomes all difficulties of navigation; and a race of emancipated negroes is rising up in our West India colonies, and elsewhere, to become the messengers of peace and freedom to their fatherland.

But benevolence, in this instance, is but one among the many motives to such a project. Our own interests as a nation are deeply involved in its success. The proposal is not now, either to found empires or to plunder them, but to make the countless myriads of Africa the growers of whatever articles of raw produce we chiefly need, and the consumers, in return, of whatever manufactures their own social advancement may most require. It is surely needless to dwell upon the obvious advantages of this reciprocity. But a momentary allusion to the most important article—cotton, the grand desideratum of British enterprise, and the future hope of Africa—will instantly disclose the intimate connexion existing in this case between the interests of humanity and of commerce.

One plausible objection, and one only, has been urged against Sir Fowell Buxton's plan, namely, its possible tendency to aggravate and perpetuate slavery. Domestic slavery in Africa, unhappily, is not a mere concomitant of the Slave Trade, but an institution prevailing

throughout that vast continent from time immemorial. It is argued that the impulse now proposed to be given to the cultivation of the soil will necessarily increase the value of human labour, and consequently add to the severity and permanence of the servile condition. But it seems to be overlooked that the same hazard, in a greater or less degree, must necessarily attend the downfall of the Slave Trade in Africa by whatever means it be effected; unless, indeed, it were designed to exclude her future industry from the marts of the civilized world. All that can be done in such a case, therefore, is to employ the best counteractives against so great a calamity. And surely, that plan which endeavours to extinguish the Slave Trade by actively promoting the diffusion of religious truth, and by throwing the whole weight of its example and influence among the natives into the scale of free labour, is least of all methods chargeable, whatever be the result, with the sin of wilfully aggravating or perpetuating the domestic slavery of Africa.

Philanthropy and commerce unitedly recommend this great effort to rescue Africa from her thrall and misery. But it must not be forgotten, that our duty rests upon higher and more imperative considerations even than these. If it be needful to be just before we are generous, then justice puts in her first claim to this service. As a nation, we owe to Africa a debt which our utmost efforts can never wholly cancel. We ourselves have been deeply implicated in the Slave Trade, and are still responsible for many of its appalling consequences. To millions of the untimely dead we never can make the least reparation: to millions more of the expatriated and unhappier living, slight indeed, even at the best, would be any compensation we could bestow during the wreck of life which yet remains; but for that unnumbered population which still struggles and pines in its native wilds beneath the double curse of Slave Trade and of barbarism, originally inflicted by ourselves, much, very much,—though far from enough,—may now be done, which can only be done effectually, so far as human prescience may judge, by adopting the suggestions of Sir Fowell Buxton.

To renew the depraved and savage passions by the influences of a transforming creed,—to assuage the sense of unutterable wrongs by the consolations of a tranquillizing faith,—and over the moral darkness of ages to pour the reflections of a brighter and more blessed hope,—these indeed are the Divine work of the Christian Missionary, and to him, with all prayers for his success, must this paramount duty be affectionately consigned. But it is not too much for those who are now desirous to co-operate with him in urging the inferior motives of human conduct into the same benevolent service, and in bringing the whole range of secular means to bear upon the social improvement of

Africa, to importunately crave,—nay, even respectfully to demand, in the name of Religion and of Sacred Justice,—that the nation which, in the days of its comparative ignorance, so largely contributed to the guilt and misery of Africa, should now come forward to assist as largely in her rescue and restoration.

There are understood to be the leading views and sentiments of Sir Fowell Buxton. Upon the literary merits of his performance, a formal criticism will not be attempted. But certainly no degree of surprise can be felt or expressed, that a work distinguished alike by the sound philosophy of its principles, and the practical character of its objects, sustained as they are by an unusual copiousness and variety of proofs, urged with the most scrupulous candour and unaffected pathos, in language peculiarly adapted by its massive simplicity to the grave and profoundly-touching nature of its subject,—should have secured at once the serious attention of the Government, and of the most influential classes in society.

The letter of Lord John Russell, inserted in the Appendix, will show in what light Her Majesty's ministers, and not only they, but public men in general, irrespective of party, have regarded the desolations of Africa; and to what extent the Government is now disposed to fulfil the duties assigned to it in carrying out this plan.

The interesting letter of the venerable Thomas Clarkson has been reprinted with a similar object.*

It is well known that a society for “the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa,” comprising many of the most illustrious persons in the community, with Prince Albert as its President, is already in active operation for the accomplishment of what may be called the philanthropic portion of Sir Fowell Buxton's plan. The Prospectus of this society, as well as its peculiar objects, appear also in the Appendix.†

An Agricultural Association likewise, wholly distinct from the above mentioned society, but framed on the same liberal principles, and forming an essential portion of this plan, is understood to be on the eve of formation.

The support of both these important institutions is commended, respectively, to the sympathy and the judgment of the whole nation.

It scarcely needs to be added, that the remedy now proposed by this able and distinguished philanthropist, under the full influence of a truly catholic spirit, leaves sufficient scope for minuter differences of opinion among the numerous friends of Africa: while its specific and practical design is in unison with a more enlarged scheme for extinguishing the Slave Trade and Slavery throughout the world.

* *Vide Appendix B*

+ *Vide Appendix C.*

A BRIDGMENT

OF "THE

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND ITS REMEDY."

CHAPTER I.

EXTENT.

As it is simply proposed in the following pages to give a general outline of Sir Fowell Buxton's work, we shall for the most part pursue the plan which he has adopted. We begin therefore with the extent to which the Slave Trade is carried on. The most startling fact which meets us under this head is, that though thirty years have elapsed since the Slave Trade was declared to be piracy by the laws of this country, and though upwards of fifteen millions sterling have been expended from our public treasury for its suppression, and though treaties for the same object have been formed with other nations, the Slave Trade, instead of decreasing, has within this period doubled in amount.

Numerous ports are still open for this nefarious traffic. In Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, Buenos Ayres, and Texas, slave vessels still find a ready market for their cargoes.

Upwards of 150,000 Africans are annually sold into hopeless slavery; of these 78,831 are annually imported into Brazil; 60,000 are computed to be annually imported into Cuba.* No fewer than 8,294 have been captured in one year. And according to the most favourable view, 3,375 must be assumed for casualties, making together the number just given of 150,000.

This calculation rests upon the most undoubted authorities, and seems rather within than beyond the mark. It is made from parliamentary documents, and the reports of Government Commissioners, whose uniform testimony is that "the contraband in slaves continues with the same scandal, and is every day becoming more active and notorious."

The corroborative proofs are no less conclusive. We have the testimonies of individuals who have visited slave ports, and lived on the coasts

* It is true, that in this one instance Sir Fowell Buxton's estimate has been challenged as being too high; but in proof of its correctness, we have inserted his letter to Mr. Turnbull in Appendix D. p. 62.

where the slave ships pass, and who, in short, possess every means which the concealed manner of carrying on the Slave Trade affords for making close observation and obtaining accurate information. According to their calculations the number of slaves annually imported should be estimated, not at 150,000, but at the still more appalling number of from 196,000 to 200,000.

Besides this, we have another interesting mode of proof, of a totally different character, which gives a similar, and certainly not more favourable result.

It is ascertained that the average sum paid for each slave in Africa is 4*l.* sterling. And it is still further ascertained, that British and Foreign produce, consisting of tobacco in rolls, spirits, piece goods, ammunition, fire-arms, and specie, to the amount of 887,698*l.*, are annually devoted to the purchase of slaves. Now dividing this sum by the 4*l.* paid for each slave, we arrive at the conclusion that 221,924 slaves are annually bought by these means. Thus fearfully corroborating, with every allowance that can be required, the number of 150,000 originally given.

The same result is also arrived at in another way. It is estimated that, of the slave vessels leaving their respective ports, one in thirty only is taken. Now, on the average of 1836 and 1837, we have 7,588 negroes as the number captured, which, being multiplied by 30, gives a total of 226,140.

It must therefore impress every mind that the calculation which fixes the number at 150,000 is no exaggeration; but if these corroborative evidences have any weight, it is on the contrary such an extenuation, as nothing but the most rigid adherence to incontrovertible premises would have made.

MAHOMMEDAN SLAVE TRADE.

The above calculations, however, only regard the traffic across the Atlantic from the east and west coasts of Africa. There is yet another drain upon this unhappy country, in the immense trade which is carried on for the supply of the Mahomedan markets of Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and the borders of Asia. From the best and most undoubted sources, 50,000 is the lowest number at which we can compute the Mahomedan Slave Trade.

Thus, therefore, taking the Christian (as it is falsely called) and the Mahomedan Slave Trades together, we have 200,000 as the number of those wretched beings who are annually torn from the land of their birth and sold into endless captivity.

CHAPTER II.

MORTALITY.

BUT less than the half of this dreadful case has yet been told. Besides the 200,000 annually carried into captivity, there are claims upon our

compassion for almost countless cruelties and murders growing out of the Slave Trade. This multitude of our enslaved fellow-men is but the remnant of numbers vastly greater, the survivors of a still larger multitude over whom the Slave Trade spreads its devastating hand. For it may be proved that for every ten who reach Cuba or Brazil, and become available as slaves, fourteen at least are destroyed.

This mortality arises from the following causes :—

1. The original seizure of the slaves.
2. The march to the coast and detention there.
3. The Middle Passage.
4. The sufferings after capture and after landing.
5. The initiation into slavery, or the "seasoning," as it is called, by the planters.

Let us examine each of these particulars.

SEIZURE.

The original seizure of the slaves involves a fearful amount of human misery, and a tremendous sacrifice of human life, serving to demonstrate that this accursed system continues to exist in all its unmitigated horrors.

The seizure is effected by the natives on each other, and accomplished according to the demand, on a larger or a smaller scale. In the latter case, depredations are committed by one, or a small number of individuals on some neighbouring village, who capture any of the inhabitants coming within their power. The larger scale, however, is that on which seizures are most frequently made. In this case the uniform practice is for one tribe to make war upon another tribe, devoting to slavery the prisoners taken in the contest.

In some instances the signal for the commencement of these wars is the slave trader's proceeding a little distance from the coast into the interior of the country, displaying to the natives trinkets and other articles, brought to barter for slaves according to the number they require. But in the great majority of cases the only signal needed for one tribe to go to war upon another tribe is the appearance of a slave-ship in any of their rivers. This signal being given, a contest is commenced, and a multitude of slaves are captured, for the sale of which, they know a market will be speedily opened.

The manner in which these wars are carried on, as described by Lander, Laird, and other travellers, is the most heartless conceivable. The scene is generally laid in the night. A village is taken by a sudden surprise; and to increase the confusion, whole hamlets are sometimes set on fire. The inhabitants immediately rush in all directions from their dwellings. Fleeing for life, they are seized upon by their barbarous depredators. Resistance is death. The bodies of the slain are shamefully mutilated, and parts of them often carried away as trophies. The old women are killed without mercy, and multitudes destroy themselves. The survivors, together with the boys and girls, are then borne away in triumph and sold into slavery.

These contests exceed description. The wretched inhabitants are seen running, some one way and some another, while the cries of the enslaved, answered by the wailing of the escaped, together with the

noise and the tumult of warfare, baffle all that the imagination can picture.

Such wars are in some instances annual occurrences, the chiefs having stated periods for going out on their yearly expeditions. They are commonly commenced on the most trivial pretexts, and simply for the sake of the slaves obtained in them. Indeed there is reason to believe that numerous tribes, continually contending against each other, would live in peace and harmony but for the market which they find for their prisoners of war. In at least nine cases out of ten, the internal differences of Africa are to be traced to the Slave Trade ; and unless the disposition of the people be transformed by the Christian religion, or their circumstances be changed by civilization, wars, which for generations yet to come may desolate this unhappy race, will owe their origin to the same source.

So systematically are these slave expeditions made, that the fruits of them are sometimes pledged in confirmation of treaties between one sovereign and another. There is a case on record in which an alliance was formed betwixt the Sheik of Bornou and the Sultan of Mandara. This treaty of alliance was confirmed by the Sheik's receiving in marriage the daughter of the Sultan, the marriage portion being the produce of an immediate expedition into the Kerdy country by the united forces of these allies. The results were as favourable as the most savage confederacy would have desired : three thousand unfortunate wretches were dragged from their native homes and sold into perpetual slavery, while probably double that number were sacrificed to obtain them.

But there is another mode of capturing slaves which must be noticed. It was practised by the Pasha of Egypt and the chiefs of Nubia and Darfour. The Pasha had troops regularly disciplined, which were at stated seasons led forth to hunt down and harry the defenceless inhabitants of Eastern Nigritia. One of these slave hunts is thus described :—“The expedition consisted of four hundred Egyptian soldiers, one hundred Bedouin cavalry, and twelve village chiefs, with peasants carrying provisions. On arriving at their destination, which they generally contrive to do before dawn, the cavalry wheel round the mountain, and by a skilful movement form themselves into a semicircle on one side whilst the infantry enclose it on the other. The negroes, whose sleep is so profound that they seldom have time to provide for their safety, are thus completely entrapped. At sunrise the troops commence operations by opening a fire on the mountain with musketry and cannon. Immediately the heads of the wretched mountaineers may be seen in all directions among the rocks and trees as they gradually retreat dragging after them the young and infirm. Four detachments armed with bayonets are then despatched up the mountain in pursuit of the fugitives, whilst a continual fire is kept up from the cannon and musketry below, which are loaded only with powder, as their object is rather to dismay than to murder the inhabitants. The more courageous natives, however, make a stand by the mouths of the caves dug for security against their enemies ; they throw their long pointed javelins, covering themselves with their shields, while their wives and children stand by encouraging them with their voices ; but when the head of a family is taken they surrender without a murmur. The less courageous fly with their families to the caves, whence the

hunters expel them by firing pepper into the hole. The negroes, almost blinded and suffocated, run into the snares previously prepared, and are put in irons."

"Each detachment having captured its share of the spoil, returns to the main body, and is succeeded by others, until the mountain '*de battice en battice*' is depopulated. If, from the strength of the position, or the obstinacy of the resistance, the assault is unsuccessful, the general adopts the inhuman expedient of reducing them by thirst; this is easily accomplished by encamping above the springs, which are at the foot of the mountain, and thus cutting off their only supply of water. The miserable negroes often endure the siege for a week, and may be seen gnawing the bark of trees to extract a little moisture, till at length they are compelled to exchange their country, liberties, and families for a drop of water. They every day approach nearer, and retreat on seeing the soldiers, until the temptation of the water shown them becomes too strong to be resisted; at length they submit to have the manacles fastened to their hands, and a heavy fork suspended to their necks, which they are obliged to lift at every step."

Such then are some of the horrors of the original seizure of the slaves. The desolating influence of this abomination of abominations can hardly be told. The whole, or the greater part of the immense continent of Africa, is but too well described as "a wilderness in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other." Many parts which were once populous, peaceful, industrious, and comparatively wealthy, are now thinly inhabited, discordant, barbarous, and wretched, a change which must be traced exclusively to this murderous traffic in human flesh.

The mortality consequent upon these methods of seizure cannot accurately be computed. We have one case in which for sixteen thousand captured, twenty thousand were destroyed; another, in which for three thousand taken, six thousand were sacrificed; and another, in which eighteen hundred were seized, and the whole lost. Taking these then as the average, at least one-third more are destroyed than the number procured; yea more, if the testimony of travellers and those engaged in traffic may be relied on, the number of the lost is double that of the captured.

Thus, therefore, at the very outset of this desolating traffic, we are presented with scenes of barbarity and slaughter more heart-rending than it is possible to conceive.

The mortality incident to the March, and Detention are next to be considered; and, first, as to

THE MARCH.

The seizures being completed, the captured negroes are brought to the coasts from the inland countries, the names of many of which are unknown to Europeans. They are usually conveyed in droves, or, as they are called, "caravans," composed of from one hundred to two thousand persons. They are hurried along by their inhuman drivers in the same manner as bullocks are driven to Smithfield.

A common mode of securing the enslaved is by tying two or four or even seven together by the neck by means of thongs made of bullocks' hides twisted together like a rope. Between every certain number of these, is a

guard carrying a musket. Sometimes they are secured by putting the right leg of one and the left leg of another into a pair of fetters, besides which, the hands of the men are often tied behind their backs. This method of security is adopted during the day ; at night a pair of fetters in addition are placed upon their hands, and a light chain passed around their necks.

Should any appearance of discontent discover itself, they are secured in a manner still different. A thick billet of wood is cut about three feet long, and a smooth notch being made upon one side of it, the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which presses on each side of the ankle.

The children who are of too tender an age to walk are borne on the backs of the women. Sometimes they are carried on horseback behind the captors, who, to prevent their falling off, tie them to the back part of the saddle with a rope made from the baoball, which is so hard and rough that it cuts the back and sides of the poor little innocent babes so as to draw blood.

In this way, men, women, and children proceed almost, and often quite naked, travelling barefooted over the burning sands and hard broken soil, covered with long dried reeds and thorny underwood ; and from these sources they endure the most dreadful hardships.

But these will bear no comparison with the cruelties practised upon them by their inhuman drivers. The owners are never seen to move without their whips, which they are constantly using upon those who, from the excessive toil and fatigue of the journey, are unable to keep pace with the companions of their misery ; and if they are utterly incapacitated to do this, and every effort proves unavailing, they are either killed or left to perish in the desert, where thousands of human skeletons, Denham informs us, may be seen whitening in the blast.

Sometimes, instead of being conducted in caravans, the negroes are carried to the coast by the rivers. This mode of conveyance is attended with hardly a less fearful amount of suffering. They are brought in canoes, at the bottom of which they lie, having their hands tied and a strict watch kept over them. Their usage in other respects is equally cruel : they are exposed to the violent rains, having only mats to cover them, and as there is usually water at the bottom of the canoes from leaking, they are scarcely ever dry.

The allowance of food, either by the rivers or by the caravans, barely supports nature. Their sufferings from thirst are still more dreadful. It not unfrequently happens that the caravan contains a much larger number of slaves than they have water with which to supply them ; in such cases a calculation is made, of what number can be preserved with the supply of water which remains, who are then driven onward, and the rest are left to perish in the sandy wilderness. On one occasion Jackson states that a caravan composed of about two thousand persons and one thousand eight hundred camels, not finding water at the watering-place as they anticipated, the whole perished from thirst.

The mortality, therefore, from these and other causes must be exceedingly great. According to one estimate, no less than thirty per cent. perish, and according to another, the number of those who die, merely on the journey from the interior to the coast, is five-twelfths of the whole.

The next cause of mortality arises from the

DETENTION

of the slaves on the coast before they are embarked. This occurs for the most part when the vessel for which they may be destined has not arrived, or is not ready to sail, or may be in dread of capture after sailing.

During this period, the wretched victims are sometimes butchered by wholesale, while vast numbers die of disease, and great multitudes perish from starvation.

On the Slave-trading coasts, slave-yards and slave-houses, called barracoons, are provided for the reception of the captured. On arriving at these places, Owen says, many are reduced to mere skeletons, while in some cases they have been seen with their flesh lacerated by their fetters to the very bone, the wound having become the resort of myriads of flies who have deposited their eggs in its gangrenous substances.

The condition of the negroes while detained in the slave-house is full of misery. It not unfrequently happens that the slave market is overburdened; when this is the case, and no purchasers are to be found for the unfortunate wretches, they are not unfrequently, either thrown into the sea, or coolly knocked on the head. Those who, after a selection has been made from a number, are rejected, either suffer a similar fate or perish from starvation.

In these barracoons multitudes perish by diarrhoea, or the small-pox. On board vessels, which either have not completed their cargo or are apprehensive of capture, vast numbers die of suffocation.

But by far the greater number die of starvation. In one instance, Captain Cook informs us, a Portuguese vessel, learning that a British boat was blockading her, postponed her sailing for several weeks; the consequence was, that three hundred of her slaves perished for lack of food. In another case, slaves to the number of two hundred and fifty were brought from Senna to be sold at Quilimane; these poor creatures were from a part of the country where it is said the natives make bad slaves, consequently they did not meet with a ready sale. The wretch to whom they were consigned, actually refused them sustenance of any kind, leaving them to procure the means of support as they could. The greater part were left in chains to perish without food, medicine, or clothing: their bones at length protruding through their skin, they presented the appearance of living skeletons lingering amidst hunger and disease, till death, their best friend, released most of them at once from suffering and bondage.

From these statements it is evident, that this branch of the case furnishes an item of no small magnitude in the black catalogue of negro destruction.

We come now to the misery and mortality incident to the

MIDDLE PASSAGE.

It was well observed by Mr. Fox, in a debate on the Slave Trade, that "true humanity consists not in a squeamish ear; it consists not in starting or shrieking at such tales as these, but in a disposition of

heart to relieve misery. True humanity appertains rather to the mind than to the nerves, and prompts men to use real and active endeavours to execute the actions it suggests."

It is, Sir Fowell Buxton declares, in the spirit of this observation, that he enters on this stage in the horrors of the African Slave Trade, and none but a mind fortified by this spirit, if at all susceptible of feeling, would wade through the facts which this branch of the subject forces upon the attention. My heart has sickened (he adds), and I have sometimes been compelled to desist while collating the statements which follow.

The Middle Passage, as it is termed, is the voyage across the Atlantic.

The voyage itself is peculiarly painful to the negroes; their sufferings, and especially those of the women, far exceeding those of the Europeans.

The first feature of this deadly passage which attracts our notice, is the evident insufficiency in point of tonnage of the vessels employed, for the cargoes of human beings which they are made to contain. The lowest rate of the tonnage of British vessels allows three tons to five men. But what is the case with regard to the slavers? They commonly carry at the rate of from two and a half to three of their wretched victims to one ton; and in some instances, the rate of tonnage has been five slaves to one ton. To this appalling fact must be traced many, perhaps most, of the miseries with which the enslaved African, in crossing the Atlantic, is afflicted.]

In these ships the negroes are stowed between the decks, which are seldom more than two or three feet, and sometimes not more than eighteen inches in height.

On being brought on board, after having been branded with a red-hot iron with the marks of their owners, they are fastened together, two and two, by handcuffs on their wrists, and by irons riveted on their legs.

In this condition, men, women, and children, perfectly naked, and in many cases, the women either in a state of pregnancy or carrying their children of from four to twelve months old, are conveyed to their wretched holds. In these dungeons of misery, they are packed together so close that in some instances they are obliged to lie on their sides, and from the small space between the decks are unable even to sit erect.

The most vivid idea of this particular may be gathered from the manner in which those who have witnessed the scene describe it. They tell us, that the negroes are packed so close that it is impossible to move without treading upon them; that in one case, one hundred and thirty-two occupied a space in which there was not room for more than thirty at full length;—that they are stowed literally in bulk;—that they are packed like bales of goods;—that they are packed like herrings in a barrel. The sufferings arising from this source it is impossible to describe, nor can the mortality it occasions be computed.

Nor is this all. The misery originated by these circumstances is fearfully aggravated by the small quantity of air which can possibly get to the negro-rooms. Most of the ships are indeed provided with air-ports. But if the sea is rough, or the rains heavy, these and every other avenue by which air is admitted must be closed; and the fresh air being excluded, the slave-holds become intolerably hot, and a dreadful amount of wretchedness ensues.

By these combined causes numerous diseases are engendered. The confined air, rendered noxious by the effluvia exhaled from the bodies of these unhappy beings, being repeatedly breathed, soon produces fevers and fluxes which carry off great numbers. Sometimes two-thirds perish. In one instance, fifty-five were carried off in seventeen days, and in another, one hundred and eighty-six in sixty days; while in another case, out of a cargo of seven hundred, three hundred and fifty, were lost before they reached the place of their destination. The small-pox often breaks out and is fatal to multitudes. Six hundred in one vessel have been destroyed by it, and on another occasion a ship, which left the shores of Africa with four hundred and thirty-eight slaves, reached its destined port with only seventy. They fell by this disease. The measles sometimes makes a fearful havoc amongst the unfortunate negroes. One case is recorded in which two hundred and fifty-three were victims to it.

The hold of a slave ship, presents a spectacle of disgusting wretchedness and piteous woe, which cannot be equalled, and completely beggars description. It is often filled with masses of living corruption; and you may sometimes see women in all the pangs and throes of labour bringing forth children, with men dying at their side, and not unfrequently living men chained to those who are dead, the latter often being in a putrid state. Such is the stench which these circumstances of horror combine to produce, that it is hardly possible to bear it for a single moment. Well did Wilberforce observe, "That never can so much misery be found condensed into so small a space as in a slave ship during the Middle Passage."

But this is not all. The water and provisions of the slaves are kept under them. With the latter they are most scantily supplied, and from the want of the former they suffer more than from almost any other source. Such, indeed, are their sufferings from thirst, that in one instance, Dr. Walsh narrates, a vessel being captured and the slaves being brought on deck and water being presented to them, they all rushed like maniacs towards it. No entreaties, or threats, or blows could restrain them. They shrieked and struggled and fought with one another for a drop of the precious liquid as if they grew rabid at the sight of it.

To increase their misery still more, the cruelties practised upon the slaves by their inhuman masters during the Middle Passage are of the most diabolical character. The unbounded licence given to the men as regards the women must not be omitted. They are sometimes guilty of such excesses as brand human nature with the foulest disgrace. Chains ten feet in length are also occasionally attached to the necks of the slaves in addition to handcuffs and fetters. In some ships, blood-hounds are employed to coerce them. Cases have frequently occurred in which they have been flogged to death. And on one occasion, the negroes, terrified by the heaving of the vessel, and making a rush to the gratings, were fired upon by the sailors till all was silent and most were dead.

The sacrifice of human life is almost incredible, and, but for the unquestionable authorities which Sir Fowell Buxton has adduced, could scarcely be believed. The negroes in a state of desperation not unfrequently destroy themselves. When they are brought on deck for fresh

air, knowing that they are doomed to return to the place of their former miseries, they often, locked in each other's arms, leap into the sea, and seek in the embrace of death the termination of their woes. So customary is this, that slave ships are generally secured by netting all round the decks. But the suicides bear no comparison in point of numbers with the murders. It is computed that no fewer than three thousand slaves are annually thrown overboard. If the captain of the vessel apprehends that his supply of water will not hold out till the end of the voyage, he meets his difficulty by devoting to the waves the surplus of his wretched cargo of human beings, retaining only those for whom he calculates that he has a sufficiency. On one occasion, on this account, one hundred and thirty-two were destroyed. If again he is apprehensive of the death of any on board, or has reason to believe that when they reach the port their condition will be such, that no one will be found to purchase them, without waiting the issue, they are not uncommonly consigned to a similar fate. Or once more, if a vessel is threatened with capture, the same inhuman expedient is had recourse to. The inducement to this was, that if no slaves were found on board, neither the vessel nor the remnant of its cargo, consisting of rice, gold dust, or other commodities, could be legally seized. In one case, a slave ship, fearing capture, thus sacrificed the whole of its negroes, five hundred in number.

We have little authentic information as to the transport of slaves from one part of the coast of Africa to another in south-east Africa, or from that ocean to Arabia and the other countries northward to which they are conveyed.

It appears, however, from the nature of the vessels, and the manner in which the negroes are stowed, that the loss of life is very considerable. The voyage is not expected to exceed twenty-four or forty-eight hours, and in case of their progress being delayed, a few hours is often sufficient to decide the fate of their cargo. Out of from two to four hundred, it has been known that in ten days not a dozen have escaped.

Another item of mortality connected with the Middle Passage, is the

WRECKS.

These not unfrequently occur to the slave-trading vessels. Sometimes the crew, escaping themselves, make an effort to save part of their cargo, and then leave the rest to their fate. But on some melancholy occasions the whole are abandoned to the mercy of the winds and the waves. Attempts have sometimes been made to dive for the bodies of those who have sunk with the vessel, but without success. They are so fast chained and crowded together that it has been found impossible to remove them.

The summary of the extent of the mortality incident to the Middle Passage is fearfully appalling. It is variously stated that one-fourth, one-half, and even two-thirds of the negroes torn from their native shores perish in crossing the Atlantic. These statements rest on testimonies which cannot be questioned.

But we need dwell no longer on this heart-rending topic.

LOSS AFTER CAPTURE.

The very means adopted for the suppression of the Slave Trade have been instrumental in adding to the amount of negro destruction.

The condition of the negroes when a slaver is taken, is generally most deplorable. Those dire diseases, to which reference has been made, are mostly found prevailing to a fearful extent. Any delay, therefore, in their landing and liberation must be fatal to vast multitudes. Yet it is a fact, that the voyage to Sierra Leone, where one of the Commission Courts is held, ordinarily occupies five or six weeks, and sometimes even eleven. The consequence of this is the most deplorable increase of negro mortality. On one occasion, forty out of three hundred and fifteen slaves were lost. On another, ninety-five out of four hundred and thirty. On another, one hundred and fifteen out of two hundred and seventy-one. On another, one hundred and ten out of four hundred and eighty. And on another, one hundred and seventy-nine out of four hundred and forty-eight.

Many more are sacrificed while these courts are deliberating, their deliberations sometimes being necessarily prolonged to a lengthened period, and the captured vessel after all is in some cases liberated.

To sum up the whole of these particulars. According to a resolution passed by the House of Commons, and founded upon evidence adduced before them, the passage from the place of capture to Sierras Leone occasions a loss of the captured slaves amounting to from one-sixth to one-half of the whole number, while the survivors are generally landed in a miserable state of weakness and debility.

This conducts us to the last head of mortality—

THE LOSS AFTER LANDING AND IN THE SEASONING.

The diseases of which the negroes on landing are the subjects, and the squalid and emaciated condition to which many of them are reduced, and scarcely able to sustain their own weight, makes it impossible with regard to multitudes that they should long survive. The flux, which so fearfully prevails amongst them, is seldom cured, and sooner or later generally proves fatal. The women are commonly the victims of fever or of madness, of which great numbers perish. Such is their passionate desire to return to their native land, that many sink into a languishing malady which terminates in death. The mortality of the slaves of Egypt is frightful; when the epidemical plague visits the country they are swept away in immense multitudes, and prove the earliest victims of every other domineering disease.

The number who die after landing and in the seasoning process has been estimated at one half; and in Egypt, of twenty thousand composing the black troops of the Pasha, three thousand did not remain alive at the end of two years.

This brings us to the conclusion of this painful recital. What a fearful amount of misery!—what an immense sacrifice of human life! and above all, what a black catalogue of crimes! dark and deep enough to stamp with everlasting infamy, not only those engaged in the horrid traffic, but those who permit its continuance.

If these statements be correct, and they are founded upon proofs to reject which would justify the rejection of human evidence altogether,

—we cannot avoid the conclusion, terrible as it is—that the Slave Trade annually dooms to the horrors of slavery by means of nations miscalled

Christian	120,000
By Mahomedans	50,000
	<hr/>
	170,000
And Murders—Christian	280,000
Mahomedan	50,000
	<hr/>
	330,000
Loss to Africa annually	500,000
	<hr/>

CHAPTER III.

FAILURE OF EFFORTS ALREADY MADE FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

It is but too manifest that the efforts already made for the suppression of the Slave Trade have not accomplished their benevolent object.

A comparison between the amount at which the Slave Trade was averaged at the commencement of the discussion with regard to it, and what it is averaged at now, shows that it has actually doubled.

Hitherto, no other change has been effected than a change of the flag under which the trade is carried on. The flag was changed from the French to the Spanish, and now it is changed from the Spanish to the Portuguese and the American.

But even when Portugal shall have been persuaded to desist from this insulting violation of treaty, and America shall have carried her laws into effect, it is but too likely that Brazil will take their place. And when Brazil shall have been induced to surrender the traffic, it is not improbable that it will be transferred to Buenos Ayres, or to one or more of the remaining flags of South America, and then to Texas.

How long, therefore, will it take to persuade the whole world to unite in a universal confederacy for putting down the Slave Trade? And while one door remains open, it is to be remembered, that nothing has been really done. To that one outlet, the whole Slave Trade of Africa will rush. And yet, a delay of fifty years at the present rate of traffic, implies at the very least the slaughter of *eleven millions* of mankind!!

But even supposing this combination to have been effected, what after all will have been done? Treaties have been evaded and violated, and will be evaded and violated again. This is abundantly established by facts transpiring almost every day. The treaty with Spain has proved ineffective. We find by the last Parliamentary Papers that, out of twenty-seven vessels condemned at Sierra Leone, eight were under the Spanish flag, and of the seventy-two vessels which left the

port of Havana for the coast of Africa in 1837, no fewer than nineteen at least were Spanish.

The history of the capture of the Spanish ship Vencedora is an ample illustration of the little worth of the boasted Spanish treaty. She was seized and tried before the Mixed Commission Court. The captain set up the impudent defence, first, that the naked, filthy, unshaven, and emaciated negroes were passengers, and next, that they were parcels of goods from Porto Rico. And the court, by the casting vote of the Spanish umpire, found this false and flimsy pretext valid, acquitted the slaver, restored the vessel, and condemned the innocent negroes to slavery, while Captain Nixon, who had effected the capture, is exposed to heavy damages for doing his duty.

If, therefore, the Spanish treaty were to become the law of the civilized world, it would fail to accomplish our object. Yea, more, suppose every slave-trading nation to have advanced a step further, and notwithstanding the jealousy of North America, the cupidity of Portugal, the lawlessness of Texas, and the constitution of France, which all stand opposed to such a measure—suppose, notwithstanding all these obstacles, every slave-trading nation had declared the Slave Trade to be *piracy*, punishable with death—what then? Three nations have already tried the experiment—Brazil, North America, and England. But what has been the result? Brazilian subjects, from the time of the passing of the law till now, have been engaged in the African slave traffic, and not one has suffered under the law of piracy. The case has been the same with America; and Great Britain furnishes a still more remarkable illustration of the inefficiency of such a law. For ten years, the Slave Trade prevailed at the Mauritius as plain as the sun at noon-day. In short, no treaty can be formed so stringent, nor penalty attached so great, as to hinder the contraband trade, even if every other were abandoned. It is an axiom of the Custom-house, that no illicit traffic can be suppressed when the profits exceed 30 per cent.

Now the profits of the Slave Trade are nearly five times that amount. The last vessel condemned in the Mixed Commission Court was the Firm;

	Dollars.
The cost of her cargo was	28,000
Provisions, ammunition, wear and tear, &c.	10,600
Wages	18,400
Total expense	52,000
Total product	145,000

There was a clear profit on the human cargo of this vessel of 18,600*l.*, or just 180 per cent. And will any one, asks Sir Fowell Buxton, who knows the state of Cuba and Brazil, pretend that this is not enough to shut the mouth of the informer, to arrest the arm of the police, to blind the eyes of the magistrate, and to open the doors of the prison? Painful and humiliating as the conclusion is, it still appears certain that the inhuman traffic will never be suppressed by the system we have hitherto so expensively pursued. We shall always be defeated in this method, by the extraordinary profits of the trade. Nay more, though our present policy were employed with tenfold energy,

the tremendous evil would not only be untouched, but, as far as past experience attests, it would still go on with additional horrors, entailing augmented misery on a continually increasing number of wretched victims.

The efforts which have been made, and are still making, have indeed, as it respects our own country, done much. They have raised it nobly in the scale of nations. They have wiped away the foulest blot with which our national character was ever stained. They have done somewhat towards absolving our share in the stupendous amount of guilt which this iniquitous traffic lays to the charge of every people engaging in it. And they have prepared the way, it may be humbly hoped, for the adoption of other measures which shall lay the axe at the root of the dreadful upas, and in due time fell it to the ground.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPERSTITIONS AND CRUELTIES OF THE AFRICANS.

THE vast amount of human suffering and the waste of human life which have been described, form, after all, but a part of the evil; there remains another dreadful feature in the condition of Africa. The Slave Trade stands as a barrier excluding every thing which can soften, or enlighten, or civilize, or elevate the people of that vast continent. It suppresses all other trade, creates endless insecurity, kindles perpetual war, banishes commerce, knowledge, social improvement, and above all, Christianity, from one quarter of the globe, and from a hundred millions of mankind. Yea, more—there is reason to believe that it has reduced Africa to what it is, and has tended to render its inhabitants the most barbarous and degraded people on the face of the earth.

What was the condition of Africa previously to the commerce in slaves? As far as the slender materials we possess instruct us on this point, it was vastly more flourishing than it is now. In the 12th century it was said of the people between the Senegal and the Gambia that they never made war on each other, but employed themselves in keeping their herds or in tilling the ground. And again, in the 16th century the land was reported to have been well cultivated, bearing plenty of grain and fruit, and the towns "prettily" laid out. That a better state of things once existed, is abundantly confirmed by traces of a former cultivation which are yet to be seen. The devastating influence of the Slave Trade is in some parts marked by mouldering ruins, desolated plantations, and osseous relics, while as far back as 1726 the discerning natives had learned to account it their greatest unhappiness ever to have been visited by Europeans. To this it may be added, that in districts where the population have been led to believe that the Slave Trade was abolished, they have betaken themselves to cultivating the land, and laid every available piece of ground under tillage; but as

soon as the Slave Trade has revived the country has been again laid waste, not a vestige of cultivation has been left, and no one has dared to go beyond the limits of his village without ample means of protection.

But whether all the cruelty and wretchedness which overspread this moral wilderness are to be laid to the charge of the Slave Trade or not, they cry aloud and appeal more powerfully than language can do, to all our sympathies for the application of a remedy, which shall arrest the one, and relieve the other.

In the present state of things, human life and human suffering are very lightly regarded. And while the Slave Trade is absorbing one portion of the population of Africa, her bloody superstitions are victimizing another. Human sacrifices prevail to a most appalling extent among nearly all the nations of this vast continent. The occasions on which they are offered are very varied,—at the commencement of a campaign, and on the conclusion of a war, to the memory of their ancestors, and in honour of departed kings and heroes, and sometimes even for mere recreation. But these sacrifices are most common in connexion with the death of any person of distinction. On such occasions, the executioners wrangle and struggle for the office, and hundreds, and sometimes even thousands, according to the rank of the departed, fall beneath their cruel hands.

On the death of a king, all the "customs" which have been made for the subjects, which have died during his reign, must be simultaneously repeated by the families, (the human sacrifices as well as the carousals and pageantry,) to amplify that for the monarch, which is also solemnized independently, at the same time, in every excess of extravagance and barbarity.

The excessive cruelty practised in the mode of making the sacrifice is still more dreadful. In one case at Coomassie the hands of the victim were pinioned behind him, a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed, like the figure of 8, one ear was cut off, and carried before him, the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin, there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder-blade; he was led with a cord passed through his nose, by men disfigured by immense shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him.

This horrible custom of sacrificing for the dead seems, from the statements of the Wesleyan missionary Freeman, to originate in some shadowy ideas of a future state of existence.

Many of the natives appear to have an utter dislike to it, while others are sunk into such a state of apathy that they are quite indifferent about it. Insomuch, that you may see the mangled bodies of their departed victims, both male and female, lying naked in the public street on the succeeding morning, and in the course of the day groups of people dancing round them with all manner of frantic gestures, appearing to be in the very zenith of their happiness.

But the account which Lander gives of these and other atrocities, as perpetrated in Badagry, may best enable the reader to conceive of them. He says, "The murder of a slave is not even considered a misdemeanour amongst them. Thieves and other offenders, together

with the remnant of unpurchased slaves, who are not drowned along with their companions in misery and misfortune, are reserved by them to be sacrificed to their gods, which horrid ceremony takes place at least once a month. Prisoners taken in war are also immolated to appease the manes of the soldiers of Adoilee slain in battle, and of all atrocities the manner in which these wretches are slain is the most barbarous. Each criminal being conducted to the fetish-tree, a flask of rum is given him to drink; whilst he is in the act of swallowing it, a fellow steals imperceptibly behind him with a heavy club, inflicts a violent blow on the back of the head, and, as it often happens, dashes out his brains. The senseless being is then taken to the fetish hut, and a calabash or gourd having been previously got ready, the head is severed from the trunk with an axe, and the smoking blood gurgles into it. While this is in hand other wretches, furnished with knives, cut and mangle the body in order to extract the heart entire from the breast, which being done, although it be yet warm and quivering with blood, it is presented to the king first, and afterwards to his wives and generals, who always attend at the celebration of these sacrifices, and his majesty and suite making an incision into it with their teeth, and partaking of the foamy blood, which is likewise offered, the heart is exhibited to the surrounding multitude. It is then affixed to the head of a tall spear, and with the calabash of blood and headless trunk paraded through the town, followed by hundreds of spearmen and a dense crowd of people. Whoever may express an inclination to bite the heart or drink the blood, has it immediately presented to him for that purpose, the multitude singing and dancing. What remains of the heart is flung to the dogs, and the body, cut in pieces, is stuck on the fetish-tree, where it is left till wholly devoured by birds of prey. Besides these butcheries they make a grand sacrifice once a year under their sacred fetish-tree, growing in a wood a few miles from the city. These are offered to their malevolent demon quartered and hung on the gigantic branches of the venerable tree, and the skulls of the victims suffered to bleach in the sun around the trunk of it. By accident I had an opportunity of seeing this much-talked-of tree, a day or two after one of the yearly sacrifices, its enormous branches literally covered with fragments of human bodies, and its majestic trunk surrounded by irregular heaps of hideous skulls, which had been suffered to accumulate for many years previously. Thousands of vultures, which had been scared away by our unwelcome intrusion, were yet hovering round and over their disgusting food, and now and then pouncing fearlessly down upon a half-devoured arm or leg. I stood as if fascinated to the spot by the influence of a torpedo, and stupidly gazed on the ghastly spectacle before me—the huge branches of the fetish-tree groaning under their burden of human flesh and bones, and sluggishly waving in consequence of the hasty retreat of the birds of prey; the intense, and almost insufferable, heat of a vertical sun; the intolerable odour of the corrupt corpses; the heaps of human heads, many of them apparently staring at me from hollows which had once sparkled with living eyes,—the awful stillness and solitude of the place, disturbed only at intervals by the frightful screamings of voracious vultures as they flapped their sable wings almost in my face, all tended to overpower me,—my heart sickened within my bosom—a dimness came

over my eyes—an inexpressible quivering agitated my whole frame, my legs refused to support me, and turning my head, I fell senseless into the arms of Jowdie, my faithful slave."

Such are some of the superstitious cruelties and bloody rites of this deeply degraded people. Well did Sir Fowell Buxton on another occasion exclaim in the contemplation of them, in the language of holy writ, "The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint; from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrefying sores."

The reader has thus been furnished with a description of the present condition of wretched Africa. He should, however, be reminded that, from the nature of the case, it must be a very faint picture of the reality. Our knowledge is very limited, and our means of information very slender, and yet what a tale of horror is unfolded !

It should also be borne in constant memory, that the facts which have been narrated, are not the afflictions of a narrow district, and of a few inhabitants; the scene is a quarter of the globe, with a hundred of millions for its population.

Nor is it with the events of a former and a darker age that we have to do; these facts are the common occurrences of our own era, the "customs" which prevail at this very hour.

And let it once more, and above all, be most definitely understood, that every fact which has been stated is supported by unquestionable authorities: they are not quoted here, but Sir Fowell Buxton has given them. His concluding observations on this subject are indeed too important to be omitted. "After I had finished my task," he says, "and on the day when I had intended to send it to the press, I was permitted to see the most recent documents relating to the Slave Trade; in these I find no ground for consolatory surmise, on the contrary, I am driven by them to the sorrowful conviction that the year from September, 1837, to September, 1838, is distinguished beyond all preceding years for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes on human life."

But is there no Remedy for all these woes? The reader, as he pursues the second part of this epitomé, will be relieved from many a pang which his heart must have felt in going over the preceding statements, while he learns that there is a Remedy, "which," in the words of the venerable Clarkson, "if followed up in all its parts, will most certainly lead to the abolition of that execrable traffic called the Slave Trade."

There are, however, two questions which require to be decided before we can assume it possible to extinguish this inhuman system; and here we give Sir Fowell Buxton's observations in full:—"First, has Africa latent wealth and those unexplored resources which would, if fully developed, more than compensate for the traffic in man? Secondly, is it possible so to call forth her capabilities that her natives may perceive that the Slave Trade, far from being the source of their wealth, is the grand barrier to their prosperity, and that by its suppression they would be placed in the best position for obtaining all the commodities and luxuries which they are desirous to possess?"

" Beyond all doubt she has within herself all that is needed for the widest range of commerce, and for the most plentiful supply of every thing which conduces to the comfort and to the affluence of man. Her soil is eminently fertile. Ptolemy says it 'is richer in the quality and more wonderful in the quantity of its productions than Europe or Asia.' Are its limits narrow? It stretches from the borders of the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Are its productions such as we little want or lightly value? The very commodities most in request in the civilised world are the spontaneous growth of these uncultivated regions. Is the interior inaccessible? The noblest rivers flow through it, and would furnish a cheap and easy conveyance for every article of legitimate trade. Is there a dearth of population, or is that population averse to the pursuits of commerce? Drained of its inhabitants as Africa has been, it possesses an enormous population, and these eminently disposed to traffic. Does it lie at so vast a distance as to forbid the hope of continual intercourse? In sailing to India we pass along its western and eastern coasts; in comparison with China it is in our neighbourhood.

" Are not these circumstances sufficient to create the hope that Africa is capable of being raised from her present abject condition, and, while improving her own state, of adding to the enjoyments and stimulating the commerce of the civilized world?

" It is earnestly to be desired that all Christian powers should unite in one great confederacy for the purpose of calling into action the dormant energies of Africa; but if this unanimity is not to be obtained, there are abundant reasons to induce this nation alone, if it must be so, to undertake the task. Africa and Great Britain stand in this relation towards each other; each possesses what the other requires, and each requires what the other possesses. Great Britain wants raw material and a market for her manufactured goods; Africa wants manufactured goods and a market for her raw material. Should it however appear in place of profit loss were to be looked for, and obloquy instead of honour, I yet believe that there is that commiseration and that conscience in the public mind which will induce this country to undertake, and with the Divine blessing enable her to succeed, in crushing 'the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted mankind.'"^{*}

T H E R E M E D Y.

INTRODUCTION.

To the important question then, What may now be done? the reply is, the native mind of Africa must be raised, and the capabilities of her soil must be called forth. These are the two great points in all efforts to remedy her condition on which the attention must now be stedfastly fixed.

* Mr. Pitt.

It is possible to conceive of the employment of a coercive force sufficiently strong to sweep away every slaver from the African coast. This, however it might restrain, would never eradicate the evil. While the native mind remains what it is, the trade in man would inevitably revive as soon as the restraint was removed. But when once the intellect and the morals of Africa have been raised from their present degradation, her people will themselves become convinced of its monstrous impolicy, and there will be found in their own bosoms the best promise of its destruction, and, wherever it shall be suppressed, the most effectual barrier against its restoration.

We may also assume, that Africa can never be delivered till we have called forth the rich productiveness of her soil. She derives, it is true, some pecuniary advantage from the accursed traffic in which she is engaged. But to what does it amount? Why, to no more than the paltry sum of 300,000*l.* per annum; and is 300,000*l.* all that can be reaped from so extensive a portion of the globe, inferior to none in native riches? It would be the height of absurdity to suppose it, and it is capable of demonstration that for every pound which she now receives for the export of her people, a hundred pounds might be raised from the fertility of her lands.

In these two points, therefore, the remedy for the condition of Africa is to be found. How is this remedy to be applied? This is the next great question which every friend of Africa must desire to have answered. The following statements will furnish the reader with an outline of Sir Fowell Buxton's plan.

CHAPTER I.

PREPARATORY MEASURES.

THE first thing to be done is to throw all possible impediments in the way of the Slave Trade.

In order to this, *our squadron must be rendered more efficient*, and this may be accomplished,

1st. By concentrating on the coast of Africa the whole force employed in this department.

2nd. The efficiency of our squadron may be improved by an actual increase of the force.

3rd. We may increase the efficiency of our squadron by the employment of steamers as a part of the proposed reinforcement.

The second preparatory measure which Sir Fowell Buxton suggests relates to *the formation of treaties with the native powers in Africa*, in order to secure their assistance in putting down the Slave Trade.

Incredible as it may at first sight appear, it is a well authenticated fact, that not only are the native chiefs desirous of British intercourse, disposed to make overtures for peace and commerce, and in almost every case eager and importunate that we should settle amongst them,

but they have both avowed their willingness and proved their ability to suppress the Slave Traffic whenever they have been encouraged to do so.

That we shall meet with some exceptions, and be assailed with opposition great and determined, is doubtless to be anticipated.

But whatever difficulties we may have to encounter with the chiefs on the coast, there is ample reason for believing that a much better disposition prevails on the part of the sultans and sovereigns of the interior.

There is evidence to show that the sheikh of Bornou, one of the most powerful potentates of Central Africa, is well convinced of the superior advantages of legitimate commerce and industry over the slave-trading system of plunder and warfare. In 1824 he prohibited the carrying of slaves beyond the borders of his own empire. He promises protection to men of commerce, especially English, who may come within the sphere of his influence, and is particularly desirous that we should settle amongst his people. He has also given us permission to trade up and down the Niger, and to build a town.

The facts are hardly less encouraging with regard to the sultan of the Felatahs, another potentate of Central Africa, scarcely less powerful than the former. He has declared his anxiety to enter into permanent relations of trade and friendship with England, and like the sheikh of Bornou he has offered to grant a place on the coast for the establishment of a British town and settlement. Yea more, he has even avowed his ability to put an effectual stop to the Slave Trade itself.

The same disposition exists on the part of less powerful tribes. To give only a single instance—the king of the Foulahs. The Foulah nation communicates with the principal countries of Central Africa, and extends from the branches of the Sierra Leone river to the banks of the Niger. It has already supplied a considerable quantity of ivory, gold, and cattle to our factories situate on this immense stream. Almami, the king of this extensive people, has long expressed his anxiety that communications should be opened between the British settlement at Sierra Leone and his own country. Besides this, he has declared his conviction that the Slave Trade ought to be at once abandoned, and that his trafficking in the flesh and blood of his fellow-creatures involves him in guilt of the blackest kind, for which, in another world, he will certainly be called into judgment.

On the whole, it appears from the most unquestionable authorities that the native chiefs generally are willing to enter into amicable relations with us, to grant any reasonable assignments of land, and to adopt any reasonable conditions which may be proposed for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

The effect of these preparatory measures, which are obviously within the province of Government, would be to create obstacles to the conveyance of negroes to the coast which have not hitherto existed, and to increase the hazards of capture after embarkation. Thus new and serious difficulties would be thrown in the way of the Slave Trade.

But will these means accomplish the total abolition of this barbarous system? Sir Fowell Buxton distinctly answers, No. Such measures may reduce, but they cannot extinguish or eradicate the evil.

CHAPTER II.

COMMERCE AND CULTIVATION.

But what is the true remedy? Happily we have not to create it. It already exists. Africa possesses it within herself—in her vast though undeveloped native resources. And when her population shall be convinced that the wealth obtained by peaceful industry exceeds the slender and precarious profits derived from rapine, the work will be accomplished.

There is reason to despair of our ever winning the hearty co-operation of those European powers who now encourage or connive at the Slave Trade, because we have no sufficient bribe to offer them. Beyond a doubt the secret of their resistance lies in the 180 per cent. profit which attaches to this nefarious traffic. But with regard to the African powers, the case is the very reverse. The Slave Trade is not their gain but their loss. It is capable of demonstration that but for the Slave Trade the other trade of Africa would be increased fifty or a hundred fold.

If therefore Africa would be enriched, the one needful thing in order to induce her population to unite with us in repressing the Slave Trade, is to convince them that they will gain by selling the productive labour of the people instead of the people themselves.

It is then to be shown that Africa possesses within herself the means of obtaining by fair trade a greater quantity of our goods than she now receives by the Slave Trade; and secondly, to point out how this truth may be made plain to the African nations. It is also to be proved that Great Britain and other countries have an interest in the question only inferior to that of Africa itself.

The present condition of Africa in relation to commerce is deplorable. The annual exports from Great Britain to Africa, deducting the value of arms, ammunition, &c., do not amount to more than 211,834*l.*, and the imports from Africa to this country in 1834, did not exceed 456,014*l.* (exclusive of gold dust, about 260,000*l.*)

But, limited as is the commerce of Africa, it is capable of being indefinitely increased. And the advantages which would accrue to Africa in the development of her resources, the civilization of her people, and the destruction of one of the greatest evils which has ever afflicted or disgraced mankind—not less than the benefits which would be secured to Europe in opening new marts for her produce and new fields for her commercial enterprise—would be incalculable.

What can we do to bring about this consummation? *It is in our power to encourage her commerce, to improve the cultivation of her soil, and to raise the morals and the mind of her inhabitants.* This is all we can do. But this done, the Slave Trade cannot continue.

The first question then to be considered is, in what way we can give an impulse to the *commerce* of Africa. For this purpose little more is necessary than to provide security, and to convey a sense of security.

Its natural productions and commercial resources are inexhaustible.

Besides the wild beasts which infest its forests, immense herds of cattle, incalculable in numbers, range its plains. Hides and skins, therefore, as well as animal food to almost any amount, may be ob-

tained. Domestic poultry are literally swarming. Fish of all kinds visit the shores and rivers in immense shoals. The mineral kingdom is exceedingly rich. The precious metals, particularly gold, abound in the beds of the rivers, and in the bowels of the earth. Iron is found in Western Africa, and the discovery of this metal is most important to the future prosperity of this country. Copper is so abundant in Mayomba that they gather enough for their purposes from the surface of the ground.

It is not however to the mineral treasures of Africa that we chiefly look. We regard the productions of the soil, the forests and the plains, the valleys and the rich alluvial deltas, as of infinitely more value.

With few inconsiderable exceptions, the whole line of coast in Western Africa accessible to trading vessels, presents immense tracts of land of the most fertile character. But it is not to the coasts alone that the merchant may look for the results of his enterprise. The interior is equally fertile with the coast.

The woods of this continent are extremely valuable. Travellers enumerate not less than forty species of timber, such as mahogany, teak, ebony, rosewood, &c.

Of dye woods there is also abundance, yielding the finest colours. Gums in variety may be obtained in large quantities. Of nuts there are the palm-nut, the shea-nut, the cola-nut, the ground-nut, the castor-nut, the nitta-nut, and the cocoa-nut. Of roots there are the manioc, yams, sweet potato, arrow-root, and ginger. The fruits are orange, lemons, citrons, limes, pines, guavas, tamarinds, paw-paws, plantains, and bannanas. Of grain there is rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn or millet, &c. Of drugs there are aloes and cassia, senna, frankincense, cardamums, and grains of paradise, or Malagetta pepper. Amongst the miscellaneous products may be enumerated ivory, bees'-wax, and Indian-rubber. The quantities of most of these may be obtained to almost any amount, and be limited only by demand.

Hemp, tobacco, and indigo grow freely in most parts of Africa. Coffee is another indigenous shrub which well repays cultivation. The tea-plant grows abundantly in the interior parts of Africa along the Niger. Sugar-canies also in several districts grow spontaneously.

But the article which requires the largest share of our attention is COTTON, because it requires little capital, yields a steady return, is in vast demand in Europe, and grows naturally in the soil of Africa.

All who have visited Africa bear testimony to the spontaneous growth of this important article. Dalrymple, Clapperton, Park, Lander, and Laird, besides many others whom Sir Fowell Buxton quotes, are all agreed on this point. They describe it to be of three kinds—white, brown, and pink, and declare it to be most excellent in quality.

The vast importance to Great Britain of an additional market for raw cotton cannot be questioned, and Africa is capable of yielding this necessary commodity, the want of which impedes and oppresses our manufacturing prosperity.

It is proposed then, that an effort shall be made to cultivate districts of Africa selected for that purpose, in order that her inhabitants may be convinced of the capabilities of their soil, and witness what wonders may be accomplished by their own labour when set in motion by our capital, and guided by our skill.

There is no doubt that mercantile settlements would effect a considerable amount of good, but to confine ourselves to the establishment of factories would retard if not defeat our objects.

We have to call forth and elevate the native mind, and to provide a larger source of revenue than that derived from the trade in man. By agriculture both will be accomplished.

It is quite clear that the intercourse between this country and Africa is at present extremely limited, that the chief obstacle to its extension is the Slave Trade, and that it might be indefinitely increased under the fostering care of the British Government. The grounds on which this supposition rests are the number and situations of its navigable rivers, its rich alluvial deltas and extensive and fertile plains, its immense forests, its wide range of natural productions, its swarming, active, and enterprising population, its contiguity to Europe, and the demand of its people for the manufactures of this country.

There will of course be difficulties to overcome. But these, together with a considerable outlay of money which will be required without an immediate return, will ultimately be repaid a thousand fold. The results to Africa will be the best reward of the philanthropist—to the merchant a new and unexplored field of successful enterprise—and to the Government the increased commercial prosperity of this nation.

CHAPTER III.

FACILITIES FOR COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE.

THE next question that arises, is, how are the capabilities which have just been unfolded to be made available?

The Niger furnishes every possible facility for the prosecution of commercial enterprise into the very interior of Africa. It discharges itself into the Bight of Benin by upwards of twenty mouths. It is navigable from thence with but little interruption to its source, a distance of more than two thousand six hundred miles. Many of its tributary streams, especially the Tschadda, are equally navigable, and afford every facility for intercourse with the numerous nations and tribes who inhabit the countries of their vicinity. Five hundred miles from its source the Niger is full an English mile across, and at the point of its confluence with the Tschadda it is one mile and a half broad. The country on the banks of both rivers is extremely fertile, and, wherever there is security from the atrocities of the Slave Trade, is very populous.

How then shall a stream of such vast importance be closed to the passage of slaves to the coast, and how opened as a secure and accessible highway for legitimate commerce? In order to this, the positions which command the Niger must be obtained.

FERNANDO PO

is the most important of these. This island is situate about forty miles

from the mainland in the Bight of Biafra, and commands the mouths of those great streams which penetrate into the interior of Africa from the Rio Volta to the Gaboon. It is twenty-four miles in length and sixteen in breadth. It has three ranges of hills, and its centre rises into a conical volcanic mountain to the height of about ten thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is exceedingly fertile, abounds in timber, and is capable of producing in the highest perfection not only every article of tropical produce, but also many European fruits and vegetables. Its yams are remarkably fine, and Indian corn has been cultivated with the most complete success. Its scenery is the most romantic and beautiful which can well be conceived. Its climate is healthy. At about three thousand five hundred feet from its base there is always the temperature of an European summer. It is entirely free from those swamps on the coast of the mainland which generate the fatal malaria which is so destructive to the health and life of Europeans. The natives of this island, who are computed at about five thousand, are friendly, inoffensive, and willing to work. To this it may be added, that there are several bays which afford most convenient access, and are besides airy and healthy. In one of these bays there are two fine coves which furnish every facility for the refitment of vessels; and in another it is said that five hundred sail might ride in safety and near the shore.

Fernando Po, therefore, obviously commands all the advantages which could possibly be desired for the purpose to which it is proposed to devote it. Adjacent to the chief resort of the slaver, it affords the greatest facilities for his capture. Situate at the outlets of the Niger, it is of incalculable value for the protection and encouragement of legitimate commerce; and affording opportunity for the landing of negroes who may be rescued from the slave trader within a few hours, or at most within a few days after they are taken, it is pre-eminently adapted for their reception, while these, if they were located here, might be formed into a kind of normal school for the introduction of agriculture, civilization, and Christianity into the interior of Africa.

Next in importance to Fernando Po, is a settlement at the confluence of the Niger and the Tschadda. A town erected in this position under the protecting wing of Great Britain would ere long become the emporium of Africa. It is computed that an extent of country equal to the whole of Europe, and a population of fifty millions, would be dependent upon it. With this position and that of Fernando Po, it is not too much to say that the Niger would be safe from the ravages of the pirate and the manhunter, and would be open to the capital and enterprise of the legitimate merchant.

These, however, are not the only rivers which afford the facilities which have been enumerated. Along the coast commencing at the southern point of the Bight of Biafra, and thence northward to the Senegal, there cannot be less than ninety or a hundred rivers, most of which are navigable. Besides these, no fewer than twenty streams enter the ocean from Rio Lagos to the river Elrei, several of which are of surprising magnitude and navigable for ships.

The geographical position of Africa, and its contiguity to Europe, moreover, claim for it especial attention.

With regard to commerce, then, as well as internal cultivation, this portion of Africa presents the most desirable recommendations for

British enterprise and philanthropy. But it is greatly to be desired that the impulse should be strong and brought to bear as speedily as possible. The Slave Trade is to be superseded by another trade which shall be more lucrative; and unless the substitute follow closely upon the downfall of the traffic in man, the natives will reproach us with depriving them of one method of aggrandizement without supplying them with another; and thus, instead of inspiring their good will, we shall provoke their displeasure.

But if at the moment when the African population find themselves in unaccustomed security,—when they see their river freed from a ruthless banditti and opened for the conveyance of their produce,—if at the moment when a market is brought to their doors, and foreign merchants are at hand ready to exchange for their productions the alluring articles of European manufacture—if at this moment, they are visited by a band of agricultural instructors, offering to put them in possession of that skill in husbandry which the rest of the world has reached, the effect is certain: the inhabitants would betake themselves to agricultural pursuits, their minds would advance, and their morals would improve in proportion to their industry; schools might be established for the education of their children; Christianity, with its gentle but irresistible influence, would work a change in their opinions and lead to the renunciation of their bloody and licentious customs. Perceiving the advantages they derived from our intercourse, they would become increasingly anxious to enjoy it, and reaping an ample compensation for their wicked traffic in man, they would be induced to abandon it for ever.

CHAPTER IV.

RESULTS OF EXPERIENCE,

IT may now be convenient to turn our attention to the colonies which already belong to us in Africa.

The colony of SIERRA LEONE was founded in the year 1792 for the express purpose of inducing the natives to abandon the Slave Trade. It has laboured under great and numerous disadvantages: the situation was not well chosen; the district is too small; the land not well suited to the growth of exportable tropical productions; and it is destitute of a river navigable far into the interior. Besides these natural difficulties there has been the want of any thing like a system or preconcerted plan in the administration of its government. Another peculiarity in this colony, consists in the nature of its population, an heterogeneous mass, but now mainly composed of the surviving cargoes of captured slave ships,

Yet, notwithstanding these and many more discouraging circumstances soon after the settlement was formed, the natives crowded round it both for education and for trade, and the beneficial effects on them, in inducing them to quit the Slave Trade, were almost instant-

taneous. That effect has been continued and has been extended to a very considerable distance all round the colony; and it is a most encouraging fact, that inconsiderable as the trade of Sierra Leone may be, compared with what might be desired, it constitutes one-third of the whole legitimate trade of Central Africa. To this may be added the extraordinary progress which the liberated Africans have made in civilization. Elevated by a sense of personal freedom, we find them, after a lapse of fifteen or twenty years, independent and respectable members of society.

To the general character of the liberated Africans, both civil and religious, the highest testimony is borne; and among other circumstances indicative of the improvement of their worldly means, and of their desire still further to avail themselves of European example, none stands more prominently forward than the system which they have lately commenced of sending their children to England for education.

Surely such encouraging facts as these, are authoritative proofs that could the system of protection and instruction be tried on better principles, and upon a larger scale, we need not despair of witnessing a glorious change in the condition of the wide continent of Africa.

The GAMBIA next claims our notice. In the year 1814 a colony was formed at St. Mary's on this river. The Gambia was formerly a great slave mart; indeed, prior to the formation of the British settlement, its trade consisted almost wholly in slaves, and vessels fitted out for the purpose proceeded up the river for about three hundred miles.

The colony of St. Mary's has increased and flourished beyond all reasonable calculations, and its beneficial effects on all the tribes along the banks of the Gambia are perhaps still more prominent than those which have taken place round Sierra Leone. The population are now eager for lawful commerce, in which alone they are engaged; the cultivation of the soil is increasing every year, and the trade is extended above four hundred miles up the river.

Besides the settlement at St. Mary's, in 1833 a mission in connection with the Wesleyan Society was commenced at M'Carthy's Island. The labours of the missionaries have been crowned with the most encouraging success. There are five hundred and fifty-nine members in church fellowship, with congregations amounting to more than double that number. Translations of the gospels have been made into the language generally used in that part of Western Africa, and schools which furnish instruction to two hundred and twenty children, in the elements of a plain education, and conducted by native teachers, have been established.

The testimony of missionaries and others residing on the Gambia, with regard to the kind of efforts it is proposed to adopt are uniformly favourable and decisive; they attribute the abolition of the Slave Trade in the neighbourhood of the Gambia to the vicinity of the British colony and its command over the river, and to the existence of a market for the purchase of the produce of the soil. They assure us that legitimate commerce might be greatly augmented and rendered increasingly valuable to the mother country. They further recommend the purchase of tracts of land adjoining the principal rivers which flow into the Atlantic, in which the natives might find security from the predatory incursions of the chiefs and from the cupidity of the slave-trader.

and declare their conviction that thousands would flee to such places of refuge as soon as they could be assured of protection, and thus a dense free population would soon spring up, and agriculture and commerce rapidly extend.

Our settlement on the Gold Coast is another illustration of the advantages of stations in Africa. The Gold Coast comprehends a space of about four thousand square miles inland and a line of coast of about one hundred and eighty miles in extent. The first prominent fact, which strikes the attention in connection with this settlement is, that the Slave Trade once prevailed to a most fearful extent. In no part of Africa was it more deeply rooted, or more systematically carried on, nor were its demoralizing effects in any other district more strongly developed. Legitimate commerce was but little thought of, and not at all, except so far as it was auxiliary to the grand object—the acquisition of slaves. This district constituted the grand emporium whence the British West India colonies were supplied with captured negroes. Forts were established there for the protection and encouragement of the Slave Trade, and thirty thousand pounds was annually applied by the British Parliament for their maintenance.

But happily this state of things exists no longer. Not a single slave has been exported since 1830. Previous to this period the whole country was one scene of cruelty, oppression, and disorder, insomuch that a trader dared not go twenty miles into the "bush." At present our communications with the interior are as free and as safe as between England and Scotland. The soil which formerly did not yield a sufficiency for the sustenance of the inhabitants, now exports a very large quantity of corn to Madeira. The trade of the Gold Coast already repays more than twenty-fold the sum granted by Parliament for the support of the local establishment, and its exports to Great Britain amount to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds per annum, forming one-fifth of the whole commerce of Africa. It is also gratifying to find that, through the labours of the Wesleyan missionaries, Christianity is making considerable progress in this part of Africa.

Now how, and by what means, has this glorious change been effected ? It has been accomplished by the establishment of a station, which, while it multiplies the dangers of the Slave Trade, affords protection to the native in the cultivation of the soil, by giving security to the legitimate trader, and by opening a market for the sale of the productions of the country.

Thus these three cases, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and the Gold Coast, amply illustrate and powerfully strengthen Sir Fowell Buxton's views. Our efforts, as far as they have gone, have been successful, and we have proved what may be effected by granting our protection, by encouraging agriculture and commerce, and by diffusing the blessings of Christianity. By adopting a similar policy in positions more favourable, and in connection with the other measures which are proposed, there is reason to hope we shall effectually check the Slave Trade, and produce a revolution in Africa still more signal than that which has already been experienced in our present settlements.

A further confirmation of this hope is derived from the recorded observations of gentlemen worthy of all credit, who have formed their opinions on the spot.

The testimony of General Turner, Governor of Sierra Leone, is especially interesting. His opinions are declared in a series of official despatches forwarded from Sierra Leone to the government of this country, and closely correspond with those now proposed.

Up to the very hour of his death he was employed in making treaties with the kings and chiefs of Africa for the suppression of the Slave Trade. In one such instance the chiefs of districts which annually exported no fewer than fifteen thousand slaves, in order to secure British protection, agreed to a treaty which was signed and ratified in the presence of all the people, obliging them to abandon the Slave Traffic, to deliver over the sovereignty to British dominion, and to submit to be governed by British laws.

With regard to the co-operation of the native powers, Governor Turner suggests, that each native chief engaging to employ his influence on behalf of our object should receive some acknowledgment of the services he may render, which need not exceed from fifty to one hundred pounds per annum.

He is also of opinion that armed steam-vessels would greatly facilitate our operations, and believes that three such boats would be enough to maintain our sovereignty over the various rivers from the Senegal to the Gold Coast.

In short, he appears to think that the abolition of the Slave Trade is to be effected mainly by means of treaties with the native powers, and by encouraging agriculture and legitimate commerce.

Colonel Nicolls, who was governor of Fernando Po during our occupation of that island, in a memorial to government, bears a similar testimony. He expresses a firm persuasion that the only effectual means of destroying the Slave Trade is by introducing a liberal and a well regulated system of commerce on the coast of Africa. He further assures us, that the chiefs being aware of the violence and injustice practised upon them by the slave-dealers, would eagerly give the preference to the fair and legitimate trader, if he could only be protected from the resentment of the former. Yea more, he avows his conviction that he himself, possessing the necessary means of protection, would have induced all the chiefs along the coast to abandon the Slave Trade for ever in favour of legitimate commerce.

Mr. Rendall, who was governor of the Gambia, in a letter intended to be addressed to the Duke of Wellington, says, "Of all the measures calculated to secure the prosperity of Africa, none promises so well as the encouragement of legitimate commerce and agriculture. Give an impulse to industry by establishing model plantations, let moral and religious education go hand in hand, and thus most firmly do I believe, that the great and benevolent objects of the real friends of Africa will be most securely attained."

Mr. M'Queen, in his "View of Northern Central Africa," says, "There is no efficient way to arrest the progress of this deep-rooted evil but to teach the negroes useful knowledge and the arts of civilized life. It is a waste of time and a waste of means, an aggravation of the disorder, to keep lopping off the smaller branches of a malignant, a vigorous and reproductive plant, while the root and stem remain uninjured. Half the sums we have expended in this manner would have rooted up slavery for ever. Only teach them that we will give them more for their produce than for the hand that rears it, and the work is done."

Such is the testimony of men who occupied positions affording them every possible facility for making the most attentive observations, for duly considering the nature and enormity of the evil, and for discovering the means best adapted to eradicate and destroy it.

The opinions also of travellers who have visited different parts of Africa, at different times, are very similar.

Golberry gives it as his opinion, that if the two governments of France and England were to form more active relations, together with agricultural and mercantile establishments and wholesome institutions, whose object should be the instruction and civilization of the negroes, the Slave Trade would soon diminish to one-half, and be quickly, and by a natural consequence, abolished.

Robertson declares, that there is but one system for us which can secure the friendship and social intercourse of Africa, and that is the inculcation of industry and the equitable use of our and her rights.

Park affirms, that nothing is wanting to bring forth the capabilities of Africa's fertile soil but example, to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects.

Laird, discussing the best mode of establishing trade and of civilizing Africa, proposes establishing a chain of British posts up the Niger and across to the Gambia, and says, "There are two ways in which this might be done with comparative economy, the one by merely establishing a trading-post, the other by acquiring a small territory, and importing West Indian and American free negroes, who would bring with them the knowledge they have acquired in the cultivation of sugar and other tropical produce, and would form, in fact, agricultural schools for the benefit of the surrounding population."

Lander says, "The natives only require to know what is wanted from them, and to be shown what they will have in return, and much produce that is now lost from neglect will be turned to a considerable account."

Gray, summing up the means for bringing Africans to a state of civilization, and relieving them from the tyranny of their chiefs, says, "There are no means more available, or more speedily practicable, than the enlargement of our intercourse with the people, and the encouragement and protection of the internal commerce of Africa. By this we can improve them by way of example, by the other we can benefit them and ourselves in the way of interchange of commodity; our habits and our manners will gain upon them in time, and our skill tend to stimulate and encourage theirs."

Burckhardt says, "The European governments who have settlements on the coasts of Africa may contribute to it by commerce, and by the introduction among the negroes of arts and industry."

Captain W. Allen, R. N., in a letter addressed to Sir Fowell Buxton, August, 1839, observes, "I have read your 'Remedy' with great interest and attention, the more so, as I find embodied in it all the ideas I had formed on the same subject deduced from observations written on the spot."

There is no species of argument which carries with it a greater force of conviction than the concurrence of a variety of persons, who being competent to judge, and having opportunities to form a sound judgment, examine a given object with very different purposes from differ-

ent points of view, yet arrive, without concert or previous communication, at the same conclusion. Such an argument is now before the reader in that unconscious but complete agreement which is seen to subsist between the individuals whose observations, recorded at different periods and under widely different circumstances, have just been presented to his notice.

Nor is this all; the views of these gentlemen correspond with those which are found in the private journals of missionaries, who have gathered their experience and formed their opinions while labouring amongst the native population.

Nor does this uniformity of opinion even stop here. Mr. M'Queen and Mr. Clarkson, who have spent their lives in studying Africa, but not in the same school, here cease to differ. They have both recorded their conviction, the former in a work which has been already quoted, and the latter in a letter to Sir Fowell Buxton, "that if the African be taught, that we will give him more for the produce of the soil than for the hand that rears it; the work will be done."

Other illustrations of this coincidence might be quoted. The Society of Friends, anxious to benefit Africa, could devise no better means than the establishment of a school and a farm in the neighbourhood of St. Mary's. And the experiment, as far as it was tried, was attended with the most happy results.

But the proofs already given trust suffice. It is but justice, however, to add in further confirmation of these views, that the Pacha of Egypt, whose shocking slave hunts have been described in a former page, is stated to have recently abolished them, and to have already witnessed some of the benefits of the change in specimens of improved cultivation carried on by natives of the districts upon which the boon had been bestowed.

It has thus been shown, that a multitude of persons whose veracity we have no reason to doubt, whose experience afforded them every facility for forming a correct judgment, and who cannot be suspected of acting in concert, arrive at precisely the same conclusions. And these conclusions are those which Sir Fowell Buxton, by a careful consideration of all the bearings of the African question, and in ignorance of the views of others, being led to adopt, has now, by a severe investigation of all the materials which official documents, private communications, and books of travels, so fully demonstrated. We are thus furnished with a most powerful and convincing argument in support of his theory; a species of argument which has been so successfully pleaded for the defence of Christianity,—.

Whence, but from heaven, could men unskill'd in arts,
In several ages born, in several parts,
Weave such agreeing truths, or how or why,
Should all conspire to cheat us with a lie.

CHAPTER V.

PRINCIPLES.

The principles which Sir Fowell Buxton proposes for the adoption of our country in the whole of our intercourse with Africa are these:—

- Free Trade.
- Free Labour.

FREE TRADE.

Nothing is more important, than that Great Britain should do away with even the colour of a suspicion of being actuated by mercenary motives. It should, therefore, be made manifest to the world by some signal act, that the moving spring is humanity. And such a demonstration would be given if, with the declaration that it is resolved to abolish the Slave Trade, and that in this cause we are ready if requisite to exert all our powers, Great Britain should couple an official pledge, that she will not claim for herself a single benefit which shall not be shared by every nation uniting with her in the extinction of the Slave Trade, and especially,—

First, That no exclusive privilege in favour of British subjects shall ever be allowed to exist.

Secondly, That no *custom-house* shall ever be established at Fernando Po.

Thirdly, That no distinction shall be made, *whether in peace or in war*, between our own subjects and those of any foreign power, as to the rights they shall possess, or the terms on which they shall enjoy them.

FREE LABOUR.

It should be laid down as a primary and sacred principle that no manner of slavery shall be allowed to exist in any territory which we may acquire, and that the freedom of every man who enters it shall be protected from every attempt to deprive him of it. This one resolution would be of untold advantage, as facts abundantly corroborate.

Captain Beaver attempted to establish a colony on the island of Bullama. It was a primary principle in the conduct of this settlement that the colonists should not only refuse to purchase slaves, but that no man should be considered in the light of a slave. The African was soon struck with this fact, and what was the result. It won upon the affection and confidence of the natives, procured an ample supply of labourers, and proved their willingness to work for an equitable remuneration.

The Appendix to Sir Fowell Buxton's work, and the testimony of the Wesleyan missionaries of M'Carthy's Island, afford still further proof of these same facts.

Such is the principle to be resolved on before a single step is taken or a single shilling of property invested in the attempt to grow cotton or any other commodity in Africa.

There are two other points in connection with this which deserve very serious attention.

The proposal of a settlement in Africa necessarily recalls to mind our vast empire in India. Any disposition to erect a new empire in Africa Sir Fowell Buxton altogether disclaims. Nor need the shadow of a fear be entertained that such a measure should ever be contemplated. As no humane man would desire it, no wise one would attempt it. The climate of Africa forbids the employment of European armies, and the country of Africa presents not the accumulated treasures of Asia to tempt our cupidity. The thing is wholly improbable, but let the danger to African political liberty be ever so imminent, still the state of the country is such, that, change as it may, it cannot change for the worse.

The other point is the encouragement which may be temporarily afforded to the infant cultivation of Africa, by the admission of its productions under a moderate rate of duty. To this it may be added, that every individual has it in his power to contribute to the encouragement of African produce by a preference that will cost him little.

CHAPTER VI.

ELEVATION OF THE NATIVE MIND.

This subject embraces the consideration of some difficult questions. They resolve themselves into these,—1st. Are the Africans able and willing to learn? 2nd. What and how shall we teach them?

It is true that the inhabitants of Africa are in the very depths of ignorance and superstition; but still there are amongst them redeeming symptoms, which encourage us to cherish the most pleasing expectations that the darkness which now covers her land will be speedily chased away by the opening light of civilization and Christianity.

Before, however, we proceed to these indications, it must be premised, that a just judgment cannot be formed of the Africans without reference to the circumstances in which they are placed. *What allowance then should be made in favour of the negro?*

The idea of his inferiority was, during the whole controversy on the subject of slavery, the great defence and apology of the planters. But what becomes of this idea when it is found that individuals of European extraction, of a race which, amongst Europeans, is supposed to stand in the highest rank for energy and intelligence, have been in the space of a few months corrupted and debased by oppression. Why it vanishes away, and we are driven to the conclusion that, before we can pronounce a man, or a race of men, desperately wicked and incorrigibly idle, they must have had their fair chances as men; and that, in considering the capabilities of the African, we must make allowance for the tyrannizing influence of a system which chains down his intellect, degrades his morals, and robs him of every motive to patient industry and legitimate enterprise.

We have a forcible illustration of the truth of this theory in the his-

tory of the loss of the Oswego off the coast of Africa, and the enslavement of Captain Paddock and his crew.

Captain Paddock was a Quaker, high in repute with the Society of Friends. He himself gives proof of the effects of slavery on his own morals. He furnishes an elaborate description of his various modes of robbing and deceiving his master. He steals his corn, his tobacco, his fruit, his boat. He makes no scruple of telling falsehoods to his master, and of purloining every thing he could lay his hands on. Both himself and his men were resolute in their refusal to work, and never did a stroke more than they were literally compelled to do. Neither blows nor curses could quicken their industry. They even lacerated their hands to disqualify themselves for labour, and what they did was done in so slovenly a manner as to render it rather a loss than a gain to their master.

The opinions which the Africans entertained of them bore a strong resemblance to the doctrine, not long ago in full vogue amongst ourselves, of the inferiority of the African race. Paddock and others have recorded, that swinish-looking dogs, and white-skinned devils, were the appellations commonly applied to them by the Africans. In their esteem, Christians are a poor, miserable, degraded race of mortals, doomed to everlasting punishment after death, and in this life only fit for the company of dogs. They say that our country is so wretchedly poor that we are always looking out abroad for sustenance, and ourselves so base as to go to the coast of Guinea for slaves to cultivate our land, being not only too lazy to cultivate it ourselves, but too stupid to learn how to do it, and finally, that if all Christians were obliged to live at home their race would soon be extinct.

Thus then it appears that Europeans and Christians are not proof against that moral poison which belongs to oppression, and we see that a race, fortified by early association, by the resources of intellect and education, and by the elevating principles of Christianity, placed in precisely the same circumstances as the African, exhibits precisely the same degree of degeneracy. Does not this rescue the African from the supposed stigma of inferiority?

We may now proceed to the enumeration of the symptoms which lead us to hope that in due time the African races may be excited to industry, ingenuity, and perseverance.

It must be admitted that on the coast, in consequence of the influence of a belt of slave-trading chiefs who, at present, find it more profitable to supply the slave-markets than to conduct legitimate commerce, insecurity, demoralization, and degradation prevail; but as we recede from the coast and ascend the rivers, comparative civilization is found, industry becomes apparent, and no inconsiderable skill in many useful arts is conspicuous. All travellers have observed the superior cultivation and comparatively dense population of the inland regions.

The banks of the Niger are thickly studded with towns and villages, and no sooner does the traveller approach one town than he discovers three or four, and sometimes even five others. Here the people are shrewd, intelligent, and quick in their perception, milder in their disposition, and more peaceable in their habits than those of the swampy country between them and the coast. And in general, if there is one characteristic which distinguishes an African from other uncivilized

people, it is his love of and eagerness for traffic; men, women, and children trade in all directions. They have regular market-places where they bring the produce of their fields, their manufactures, their ivory and every thing they can sell. The Moors, who have preceded us in the interior, have imparted considerable knowledge of commercial transactions, and introduced the use of Arabic in mercantile affairs. In some districts a highly improved agriculture prevails, the horse is a common domestic animal, extensive tracts of land are cleared and enclosed, and every article absolutely necessary to comfortable life is produced by the skill and industry of the inhabitants. Nor is evidence wanting to prove their readiness to engage in any employment where they can get a reward, however small, for their labour. At M'Carthy's Island there are Mandingoës and others who come from their own country and hire themselves as labourers for several months, and with the articles they receive in payment barter them on their way home for more than their actual value on this island. The Kroomen, who inhabit Cape Palmas, leave their homes young and work on board the trading vessels on the coast, or at Sierra Leone. Any number may be got, at wages from two to four dollars per month. The Africans are by no means devoid of aptitude and ingenuity in imitating European manufactures. In Benin they make muskets, procuring only the locks from Europe. The negro's aptitude for letters has, as we may well suppose, been still less exercised than his manual skill; but we have proof that as a race they are by no means deficient. Africans have never had a fair trial of what they might be, yet their intelligent countenances, and the ability they show when rightly instructed, evince certainly no deficiency in the natural powers of the mind.

FACILITIES FOR GIVING INSTRUCTION.

The eagerness with which the Africans thirst after knowledge is a very striking, as it is a most encouraging feature in their characters. All the chiefs in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone would gladly pay for the board and education of their children. Missionaries of various denominations have penetrated into the neighbouring states, and all have sent stirring accounts of their success and prospects. Among other proofs of the kind, two Wesleyan ministers, Messrs. Dove and Badger, visited the "Plantains," an island on the mouth of the Sherbro'. King Calken, to whom it belongs, treated them with great kindness, and afforded them the gratification of seeing him reading an English Bible. Not a single instance has been known of any Christian teachers having been repelled when their object has been fairly understood; except indeed by the notorious influence of European slave-traders. On the contrary the missionaries have received numerous and pressing invitations to settle amongst the various tribes they have visited.

AGENTS TO BE OBTAINED.

Thus it appears that there is at least as great a readiness on the part of the African to receive instruction as on ours to communicate it; the

question now remains, who are to be the instructors? The climate is generally viewed as unfavourable to Europeans; and this being the case, it is highly satisfactory to find that, from the liberated Africans in our West Indian colonies, we are likely to be furnished with a number of persons in whom are united the desirable qualifications of fitness for the climate, competency to act as teachers, and willingness to enter upon the work. There is a feeling in the hearts of our emancipated negroes towards the land of their origin which seems to have arisen spontaneously in various congregations. The conversion of Africa to God is the theme of their conversation and their prayers, and the object of their most ardent desires. Meetings have been held in Kingston, Jamaica, and elsewhere, consisting of between two thousand and three thousand persons, for the purpose of considering the best means of Christianizing Africa by such Christian agency as this island would afford, and a society has been organized for the employment of it. One poor African, James Keats, left Jamaica a few months ago really on a pilgrimage to his native land, that he might carry the gospel there.* Nor is this feeling confined to any denomination in particular; it more or less pervades all, and agents are offered from the Church, Wesleyan and Baptist congregations.

ADVANCES ALREADY MADE.

To this it must be added, that some advances have already been made. The Church Missionary Society have a normal school for the education of teachers at Sierra Leone. The Wesleyans in this same settlement have no fewer than two thousand persons united together in religious fellowship and prosperous schools. This same body have declared their intention to establish a college on Macarthy's Island for the education of the children of the higher classes; and the Church, Wesleyan, and American missionaries have all laboured considerably in the formation of grammars, the publication of elementary books, and the translation of the Scriptures.

It becomes evident, therefore, that our way is not totally blocked up, but that there are many circumstances which will tend to facilitate our efforts for disseminating knowledge and religion among those who are the objects of our sympathy.

In what way then can this advance of mind be most effectually and speedily attained? Unquestionably by the propagation of Christianity. The gospel ever has been, and ever must be, the grand civilizer of mankind. There is in the gospel an adaptation to operate more powerfully on the human mind than any other agency which has ever been employed, or which can be conceived; and those heathen nations which have attained the highest pitch of civilization which without Christianity they could reach, have blended with all their refinement the most barbarous and cruel practices. Rome, in the zenith of her glory, sold her prisoners of war into slavery, and continued her gladiatorial games in which man was opposed to man in mortal conflict.

The civilizing power of Christianity is confirmed by a thousand testimonies. It has quenched the suttee fires of India; it has abolished slavery throughout the British colonies; it has reclaimed multitudes of

* He has since been heard of, when he was proclaiming the truths of Christianity on the very spot where his forefathers were captured.

New Zealanders from cannibalism ; and it has reformed the wandering habits of the roving Indians. In the South Sea Islands in particular what a transformation has it effected ! Within a few years, through the labours of Christian missionaries, idolatry has been subverted, infant-murder and human sacrifices have ceased, education has been promoted, converts have flocked around the ministers of the gospel, churches gathered, missionary societies formed, and teachers sent forth. Now the people, fast rising in the scale of nations, have, as fruits of the Divine blessing on missionary perseverance, a written language, a free press, a representative government, courts of justice, written laws, useful arts, and improved resources. Commercial enterprise is promoting industry and wealth, and a measure of domestic comfort unknown to their ancestors now pervades their dwellings.

From these facts the inference does not appear doubtful, that whatever methods may be attempted for ameliorating the condition of Africa, Christianity alone can penetrate to the root of the evil, teach the untutored negro to love and befriend his neighbour, induce him to relinquish the trade in man, disenthral him from the barbarous superstitions by which he is now debased and enslaved, and cause him to act as a candidate for a higher and holier state of being.

Let therefore missionaries and schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go together, agriculture and commerce will flourish, whilst civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity will operate as the proximate cause of this happy change.

Our duty to apply this remedy if we can is plain. The miseries of Africa appeal to every humane and Christian principle, and lay us under the most imperative obligations to render her the assistance which she needs. But besides this, we owe a national debt of restitution to Africa. We have shared in the guilt of plundering her people, and in inflicting upon her those cruel wrongs from which to this very hour she is suffering as great an amount of wretchedness as it is possible for man in this world to endure. Are we not then bound not only in mercy but in justice to come forward to her aid, and devote all our national strength and energy, wealth and influence, if it be necessary, to ameliorate her condition ?

What, then, it will be naturally asked, is the scheme of instruction which it is proposed to adopt ? In answer to this, it is recommended —Firstly, That in every settlement formed on the views here laid down, the religious, moral, and industrial education of the natives should be considered an essential and fundamental object, claiming the early and careful attention of the founders of such settlement.

Secondly, That missionary societies should by mutual agreement subdivide and apportion the parts of this common field, so that each section of the Christian church may have undisturbed possession of its own sphere of labour.

Thirdly, That immediate arrangements should be made by each for normal schools, intended to rear not only native teachers of religion but native artisans, mechanics, and agriculturists, well instructed for the purpose, and themselves converts to Christianity.

Fourthly, That the African Civilization Society, now being instituted, should befriend and protect all who are engaged in disseminating the truths of Christianity.

CHAPTER VII.

SPECIFIC STEPS TO BE TAKEN.

THERE can be no mistake about the object contemplated. It is the deliverance of Africa by calling forth her own resources. In order to this we must—

- 1st. Impede and discourage the Slave Traffic.
- 2d. Establish and encourage legitimate commerce.
- 3d. Promote and teach agriculture.
- 4th. Impart instruction.

To accomplish the first we must—

Increase and concentrate our squadron, and make treaties with the chiefs of the coast, the rivers, and the interior.

To accomplish the second we must—

Obtain commanding positions, settle factories, and send out trading ships.

To accomplish the third we must—

Set on foot an Agricultural Company, and obtain by treaty lands for cultivation.

To accomplish the fourth we must—

Support the benevolent association now established.

Of the work to be done, a part belongs to government and a part to individuals,

The government should—

Take on itself the whole duty and expense of preserving the peace and of affording the necessary protection to new British settlements in Africa.

Increase and concentrate our naval force.

Obtain Fernando Po and such other commanding positions as may be found necessary.

Prepare, instruct, and send out embassies to form treaties, including the several objects which have been stated.

The part devolving on individuals interested in the fate of Africa is—

- 1st. Strenuously to assist the benevolent association just mentioned.
- 2d. To form an agricultural company which shall send out agents to cultivate her soil.

To the question which has been repeatedly proposed by individuals moved to compassion for the sorrows of Africa—What shall we do ? Sir Fowell Buxton replies, Join the African Institution, which has now been revived, and join any African Agricultural Association which shall be founded on the principles of No Slavery, No Monopoly, Forbearance towards the Natives, and Utter Enmity towards Slave Trade and Slavery.

CONCLUSION.

GREAT as^{is} the undertaking which we contemplate, there are at the present time many concurrent and favourable circumstances which have not previously existed.

England is at peace, and our sincerity with regard to the Slave Trade has been established by sacrifices which admit of no misconstruction. We are therefore in a condition to ask the co-operation of all other powers to aid in promoting our designs.

Africa is far more accessible than at any other period, and suitable agents capable of enduring the African climate are at hand.

New markets for the sale of our manufactures are at this time urgently required, nor is the supply of raw material less important to our national welfare.

With all these and many more auspicious circumstances to encourage us, we are to commence the glorious undertaking which lies before us. Great Britain has already dared, and with perfect safety, at the immense sacrifice of twenty millions sterling, to transform eight hundred thousand human chattels into useful labourers, and the equals of those who the day before could call themselves their owners.

A nobler achievement now awaits us; Great Britain can if she will, under the favour of the Almighty, confer a blessing on the human race. It may be that at her bidding a thousand nations, now steeped in wretchedness, in brutal ignorance, in devouring superstition, possessing but one trade, and that one the foulest evil that ever blighted public prosperity, or poisoned domestic peace, shall under British tuition immerge from their debasement, enjoy a long line of blessings—education, agriculture, commerce, peace, industry and the wealth that springs from it; and far above all, shall willingly receive that religion which, while it confers innumerable temporal blessings, opens the way to an eternal futurity of happiness.

The case is now fairly before the nation. It belongs to no individual, to no party—it is a distinct and isolated question.

My desire, adds Sir Fowell Buxton, has been to lay it upon the national conscience of Great Britain. There I must leave it, having fully stated what I believe to be the only remedy, and the best means of applying that remedy.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A.

*Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord John Russell to the
Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. (Laid on the
table of the House of Commons, 8th February, 1840.)*

MY LORDS,

Downing Street, 26th December, 1839.

The state of the foreign Slave Trade has for some time past engaged much of the attention of Her Majesty's confidential advisers. In whatever light this traffic is viewed, it must be regarded as an evil of incalculable magnitude ; the injuries it inflicts on the lawful commerce of this country, the constant expense incurred in the employment of ships of war for the suppression of it, and the annual sacrifice of so many valuable lives in this service, however deeply to be lamented, are not the most disastrous results of this system. The honour of the British Crown is compromised by the habitual evasion of the treaties subsisting between Her Majesty and foreign powers for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the calamities which, in defiance of religion, humanity, and justice, are inflicted on a large proportion of the African continent, are such as cannot be contemplated without the deepest and most lively concern. The Houses of Lords and Commons have, in their addresses to the Crown, expressed, in the most energetic terms, the indignation with which Parliament regards the continuance of the trade in African slaves, and their anxious desire that every practicable method should be taken for the extinction of this great social evil.

To estimate the actual extent of the foreign Slave Trade, is, from the nature of the case, an attempt of extreme difficulty ; nor can anything more than a general approximation to the truth be made. But after the most attentive examination which it has been in my power to make of official documents, and especially of the correspondence communicated to Parliament from the department of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the average number of slaves introduced into foreign states or colonies in America and the West Indies, from the western coast of Africa, annually exceeds 100,000. In this estimate a very large deduction is made for the exaggerations which are more or less inseparable from all statements on a subject so well calculated to excite the feelings of every impartial and disinterested witness. But making this deduction, the number of slaves actually landed in the importing countries affords but a very imperfect indication of the real extent of the calamities which this traffic inflicts on its victims. No record exists of the multitudes who perish in the overland journey to the African coast, or in the passage across the Atlantic, or of the still

greater number who fall a sacrifice to the warfare, pillage, and cruelties by which the Slave Trade is fed. Unhappily, however, no fact can be more certain, than that such an importation as I have mentioned, presupposes and involves a waste of human life, and a sum of human misery, proceeding from year to year, without respite or intermission, to such an extent as to render the subject the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate.

The preceding statement unavoidably suggests the inquiry, why the costly efforts in which Great Britain has so long been engaged for repressing the foreign Slave Trade has proved thus ineffectual? Without pausing to enumerate the many concurrent causes of failure, it may be sufficient to say that such is the difference between the price at which a slave is bought on the coast of Africa and the price for which he is sold in Brazil or Cuba, that the importer receives back his purchase-money tenfold on the safe arrival of his vessel at the port of destination. It is more than probable that the general profits of the trade, if accurately calculated, would fall exceedingly below this estimate, as indeed it is certain that in many cases it is carried on at a ruinous loss. But your Lordships are well aware how powerful and constant an impulse may be given to any species of illegal traffic, however hazardous, when they who engage in it are allured by the hope of very large and quick returns, if their good fortunes could enable them to escape the penalties of the law. It may therefore be readily understood how effective is such a stimulus, when, as in the case in question, the law itself is regarded with general disfavour in the society to which the violator of it belongs, and is reluctantly executed by the government of that society. We must add to this exciting motive the security which is derived from insurances, and insurance companies, which are carried on to a great extent, and combined powerful interests. Under such circumstances, to repress the foreign Slave Trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties.

Her Majesty's confidential advisers are therefore compelled to admit the conviction that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system, calculated to arrest the foreign Slave Trade in its source, by counteracting the principles by which it is now sustained. Although it may be impossible to check the cupidity of those who purchase slaves for exportation from Africa, it may yet be possible to force on those, by whom they are sold, the persuasion that they are engaged in a traffic opposed to their own interests when correctly understood.

With this view it is proposed to establish new commercial relations with those African chiefs or powers within whose dominions the internal Slave Trade of Africa is carried on, and the external Slave Trade supplied with its victims. To this end the Queen has directed Her Ministers to negotiate conventions or agreements with those chiefs and powers, the basis of which conventions would be, first, the abandonment and absolute prohibition of the Slave Trade; and, secondly, the admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them. Of those chiefs, the most considerable rule over the countries adjacent

to the Niger and its great tributary streams. It is therefore proposed to dispatch an expedition which would ascend that river by steam-boats, as far as the points at which it receives the confluence of some of the principal rivers falling into it from the eastward. At these, or at any other stations which may be found more favourable for the promotion of a legitimate commerce, it is proposed to establish British Factories, in the hope that the natives may be taught that there are methods of employing the population more profitable to those to whom they are subject, than that of converting them into slaves, and selling them for exportation to the slave traders.

In this communication it would be out of place, and indeed impracticable, to enter upon a full detail of the plan itself; of the ulterior measures to which it may lead, or of the reasons which induce Her Majesty's Government to believe that it may eventually lead to the substitution of an innocent and profitable commerce, for that traffic by which the continent of Africa has so long been desolated. For my immediate purpose it will be sufficient to say, that having maturely weighed these questions, and with a full perception of the difficulties which may attend this undertaking, the Ministers of the Crown are yet convinced that it affords the best, if not the only prospect of accomplishing the great object so earnestly desired by the Queen, by her Parliament, and her people.

Having instituted a careful inquiry as to the best and most economical method of conducting the proposed expedition, I find from the enclosed communication from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that it will be necessary to build three iron steam-vessels for this service, and that the first cost of those vessels, including provisions and stores for six months, will amount to 35,000*l*. It further appears that the annual charge of paying and victualling the officers and men will be 10,546*l*. The salaries of the conductors of the expedition, and of their chaplain and surgeon, will probably amount to 4,000*l*. In addition to this expenditure, Presents must be purchased for the chiefs, and tents, mathematical instruments, with some other articles of a similar kind, will be indispensable for the use of the persons who are to be engaged in this service, when at a distance from their vessels. I have some time since given directions for the completion of this additional estimate, but with those directions it has not hitherto been found practicable to comply. The charge for this branch of the proposed service will not be very considerable.

I have to convey to your Lordships my recommendation that in the estimates to be laid before the House of Commons for the services of the year 1840, the sums be included which are necessary to provide for the expenses of the proposed expedition to the Niger, on the scale already mentioned, under the several heads of expenditure."

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. RUSSELL.

APPENDIX B.

Copy of a Letter from Thomas Clarkson, Esq. to Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Playford Hall, 17th July, 1839.

Having read your little book, bearing the name of "The Remedy," I congratulate you on having at last discovered a way which, if followed up in all its parts, would most certainly lead to the abolition of that execrable traffic called the Slave Trade.

Two of the measures which you hold forth to accomplish this object, are the employment of steamers in conjunction with sailing vessels, and the annexation of the island of Fernando Po to our foreign possessions. Simple and insignificant as the means may at first sight appear, they will be decisive in their consequences, and fully answer the end as far as the capture and destruction of slave-vessels are concerned. Steamers, it is obvious, will come up with these at times and seasons when our best sailing ships cannot touch them, and Fernando Po is a station, in the *sight of which eight-tenths of the existing slaves must pass to be carried on.* Commodore Bullen, whom you have quoted, says, "that if a look-out be kept from the shore of this bay (in Fernando Po), scarcely a vessel could leave the Bonny, Calabars, Bimbia, and Cameroons rivers, without being observed time enough to signalize to any vessel lying at the bay to intercept her;" and he cites as an instance the capture of a slaver *Le Daniel* by his own vessel. This capture was effected within four hours after first seeing her, although his vessel was then lying at anchor in the bay. Taking in these three happy circumstances together, the employment of steamers, the vicinity of Fernando Po to the coast, and that the island commands a sight of eight-tenths of the Slave Trade now carried on, I cannot doubt that *ten* vessels would be captured where *one* was taken before. I verily believe that our cruisers would make such havoc among the slave-vessels in three months, that when the news of what they had done should reach Cuba, Brazil, &c., the insurance there would be raised to a frightful amount, and merchants begin to query, whether it would be advisable to send any more adventures to that part of the coast. So far for the first three months; but after this, other vessels would be on their way to the Niger, ignorant of what had happened, and would share the same fate. Here a fresh report of captures would be communicated to the people of Brazil, Cuba, &c., and what effect would this produce there? No insurance at any rate! No heart to venture again in this trade! And here I cannot help stating the benefit that Fernando Po would be to the slaves who should be captured on these occasions: instead of being carried to Sierra Leone, as heretofore, many of them in a diseased state, a voyage of five or six weeks, during which a prodigious loss of life has occurred, they would be landed there in health in three or four days, some of them in a few hours, where they would be liberated, and set to work, and earn their own maintenance immediately. I have been writing hitherto under the supposition that we are at liberty to take

vessels of this description bearing the Portuguese flag. It is said that a treaty is on foot for that purpose with Portugal, but if that should fail, existing treaties would bear us out in the capture of such vessels.

But supposing these two measures should be successful, as you think they would be, in putting an end to the Slave Trade, what do you recommend next? You recommend that a *new trade* should be proposed to the natives in exchange for that of the Slave Trade, in the productions of their soil; that is, by means of agriculture, by which their wants, and more than their usual wants, would be supplied, so that when the new trade should come fairly into play, they would find, practically find, that it was more than a compensation for the old; and that the rise of this new trade should immediately follow the downfall of the Slave Trade. But how is this new trade to be brought about? You answer by *treaties* with the native chiefs; by *subsidies* to some of them, which, though they would be important, would be of trifling amount; by *purchasing land*, which, though extensive, would be attended with little cost; by *introducing settlements* among them, by which their industry would be directed to the proper objects of cultivation, and that cultivation improved by our skill; by which their youth would be educated, their manners and habits civilized, and the gospel be widely spread among them.

There is no doubt that if all these things could be accomplished, not only the Slave Trade would be abolished, but the natives would never wish to return to it. Now you have shown by historical proofs that *all these things have been already done* in many instances in different parts of Africa, and that the results have been highly favourable, and this without any particular pains being taken, except at Sierra Leone;

In fact, without any but ordinary stimulus being given, the natives being left to their own will and pleasure, and without any other incitement than the protection which a settlement in this vicinity afforded them, and a simple declaration, "that they should be paid for their labour." What would be the case, then, were a great company established in England, whose constant object would be to excite their energies by the prospect of a suitable reward, and by instructing them how to earn it?

Let us now see what these historical proofs are (and I shall quote from them very briefly) on which you place so much reliance. Sierra Leone offers itself for consideration first. You say that "the accounts, soon after the settlement was formed there, stated that the natives crowded round the colony both for education and for trade, and that the beneficial effect upon them in inducing them to quit slave trading, was *instantaneous*. That effect has been continued, and has extended in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone to a very considerable distance round the colony. Traders bring down ivory, gold-dust, and palm oil as usual. Of late years a very important branch has been added to the legal trade for the cutting of timber for the British Navy," &c. &c.

The river Gambia presents itself next. "In the year 1814," says Mr. Bandinel, "a colony was formed at St. Mary's on this river. This colony has increased and flourished beyond all reasonable calculation, and is already *more powerful and wealthy* than any of those older settlements of the British in Africa, which were formed for the

purpose of promoting the Slave Trade."—"The beneficial effects of this settlement at St. Mary's on all the tribes along the banks of the Gambia, are perhaps still more prominent than those which have taken place round Sierra Leone."

In the year 1833 a mission, in connexion with the Wesleyan Society, was established at Mac Carthy's island. "Before the abolition of the Slave Trade," says the Rev. Mr. Macbriar, "there were considerable factories here, but now that the slave market is abolished, and the natives can find a ready market for the produce of their lands by means of the British merchants, the *cultivation of the soil increases every year*; and the aborigines have been heard to say, that they now wish they had their slaves back again, because they could get more by their labour than they did by selling them to Europeans."

Let us add another of your proofs. The Rev. J. Morgan, to whom the Foulah mission in the same river partly owes its origin, recommends the purchase of tracts of land adjoining the principal rivers. He says, "that thousands would flee to such places of refuge as soon as they could be assured of protection, and thus a dense free population would soon spring up, and commerce would rapidly extend." I myself am connected by subscription with a settlement in this river, and the accounts from thence, which I see yearly, are full of the *anxious desire* manifested by the natives on the banks of it, to be under our protection, and to cultivate their lands in peace, and to be civilized and christianized.

We come now to the Gold Coast. "In no part of Africa," says the Governor, M'Lean, "was the Slave Trade more firmly rooted, or more systematically carried on than in these settlements." "But a great change has taken place since its abolition. The soil, which formerly did not yield sufficient for the sustenance of the inhabitants, *now affords to export a very large amount of corn to Madeira*," "besides *greatly increased quantities* of gold-dust and ivory." "The exports to Great Britain amount to 160,000*l.* per annum." Formerly "the whole country was one scene of oppression, cruelty, and disorder, so that a trader dared not go twenty miles into the bush. At present our communication with the interior is as *free and safe* as between England and Scotland." Add to this the statement, that "several hundreds of the natives, through the labours of the Wesleyan missionaries, have embraced the truths of Christianity."

Having now made a few quotations from what you have advanced relative to our *own colonies* on the continent of Africa, let us quote from what you have said relative to other parts of the same continent which are not in our possession. The first of these which presents itself in the order of location upon that coast, is the country in the neighbourhood of the Senegal. The natives having had reason to suppose that it was the intention of the British Government, when they took possession of this river, to abolish the Slave Trade as far as their new dominions extended, were filled with joy. "Seeing no probability of any further Slave Trade," says Mr. Rendall, who was a resident of St. Louis, in the Senegal, from 1813 to 1817, "they be-thought themselves to *turn their attention to agriculture*, and all *disposable tracts of land* were in consequence to be found in a state of *cultivation*. The inhabitants passed from one village to another with-

out fear or protective weapons, and contentment seemed to reign not only in the countenances, but in the humble huts of the inhabitants." This account of Mr. Rendall is very short. It is a pity that he did not dwell more largely, as he might have done, on the *extraordinary industry* which this belief of the abolition excited; on the great quantity of land put in cultivation for miles along the banks of the Senegal, and on the markets which the people had opened for themselves. I had an account of these particulars, as they occurred, from persons at Fort St. Louis myself, and had occasion afterwards to transmit them to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where I understood they were received and read.

The next place in order of location is the Island of Bulama, situated opposite to the country of Biafra, and not far from the great rivers Rio Grande and Nunez. Here Captain Beaver, at the close of the last century, attempted to form a colony. Two of the natives of the opposite continent soon crossed over to him, and though he told them "*he could have no dealing in slaves*," yet their report induced others to take service with him, and he never afterwards wanted grumettas or labourers. In one year he employed nearly two hundred of them. He never saw men work harder, more willingly, or regularly, generally speaking, than they did. And what induced them, says Captain Beaver, to do so? "*Their desire of European commodities in my possession, of which they knew they would have the value of one bar at the end of the week, or four at the end of a month.* Some of them remained at labour for months ere they left me. Others, after having left me, returned. They knew that the labour was constant, but they also knew that their reward was certain." To this account I may just add that I knew Captain Beaver personally, and that I have heard these and other important statements from his own lips. He was a captain in the royal navy; and in private life he was most estimable, and a man of high moral character.

The last place in the same order, but some hundreds of miles further down the coast, which you quote, is the river Niger. Unfortunately the gentlemen you mention have not been resident in the interior of this country, and therefore can only speak of what they saw and heard while navigating this immense river. "*By this river*," says Mr. Laird, "*one hundred millions of people would be brought into direct contact with the civilized world, new and boundless markets would be opened to our manufacturers, a continent teeming with inexhaustible fertility would yield her riches to our traders; not merely a nation, but hundreds of nations, would be awakened from the lethargy of centuries, and become useful and active members of the great commonwealth of mankind.*" And what says Mr. Lander of the disposition of this vast population of the countries through which this river goes? "*The natives*," he says, "*only require to know what is wanted from them, and to be shown what they will have in return*, and much produce that is now lost from neglect, will be returned to a considerable amount." But the most important evidence which you have cited for this part of the country is Colonel Nicolls. He tells us that from his long experience in these and other parts of Africa, "*there is one means, and he is persuaded but one effectual means, of destroying the Slave Trade,*

which is by introducing a liberal and well regulated system of commerce on the coast of Africa." He then gives us the substance of a conversation with one of the native chiefs on this subject, in which he convinced him of the folly of trading in the bodies of the inhabitants in comparison with trading in the productions of the soil, so that this chief gave up the Slave Trade: and says, "I feel convinced that I could *influence all the chiefs along the coast in the same manner*: but to be able to effect this, it would be necessary to have the means of moving with a degree of celerity that a steam-vessel alone would give us."—"Steam-boats would also be of incalculable use to commerce, by towing ships over bars and agitated currents, whilst, as a means of catching the slave-ships, and protecting the coast from the depredations of their crews, *three steamers would effect more than the expensive squadron now maintained there*. I pledge myself to put an end to the whole of our expense, and *totally to suppress the Slave Trade* in two years." O, how I wish that Colonel Nicolls could be sent again to Africa for this purpose! He is the only man alive to effect it. I know him well. His whole heart and soul are in the project. Besides, he has an intimate knowledge of these seas and harbours, of Fernando Po, and what it can do towards the abolition of the Slave Trade; of the mouth of the Niger, and the great rivers falling into it; of some of the native chiefs personally, and of the manners, customs, disposition, and temper in general of the inhabitants of these parts.

But why should I go further into "The Remedy" you propose? It would be a waste of words. It has already appeared probable, nay, more than probable, that if steamers were employed, and Fernando Po added to our possessions, the capture of the vessels concerned in the hateful traffic would be comparatively easy; that treaties might be made with the African chiefs, and several of them subsidized in our interest; and that the energies of the natives on that vast continent might be called forth in a *new trade*, in the productions of their soil, (which of itself would sap the foundation of the Slave Trade,) and that thousands and tens of thousands of these natives might be engaged in it. Again, you have projected a large commercial and agricultural company, which should take off their produce and supply their wants. What can you *devise*, and what can you *desire* more, to put down the Slave Trade and to civilize Africa? I hope then that you will not be so diffident as you appear to be relative to the success of your measures: if they do not succeed, none will. I have studied the subject for more than half a century, and give it as my opinion that yours is the only plan that will answer. I cannot doubt that the Government would readily promote your views, if they were only persuaded that it was probable that the abolition of the Slave Trade would follow, and that a great part of the country, the moral and religious part of it, would be grateful, very grateful, to them for so doing. And now, my dear friend, having read your little work twice over, and having formed my conclusions upon it, and finding these in unison with your own, I thought that you would be pleased with them; and thanking you, as every abolitionist must do, for the great labour you must have undergone in preparing your present plan, I remain, with great regard,

Your sincere and affectionate Friend,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

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APPENDIX C.

Prospectus of THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, and for the CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.

Instituted June 1839.

IN the year 1807 Great Britain prohibited all her subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade, and the Legislature of this country, in accordance with the voice of the people, repudiated a commerce which had produced more crime and misery than perhaps any other single cause of guilt and iniquity; but neither the Government nor the Legislature, nor the subjects of this realm, were satisfied with a mere cessation from crime.

Remembering how deeply, in times of comparative ignorance, we had sustained and augmented this trade, so repugnant to every Christian principle and feeling, the nation determined to use its utmost influence, and expend its resources, in the noble attempt to extinguish it for ever.

The compass of this address will not allow even of the most compendious statement of the measures resorted to, of the treaties concluded with foreign powers, of the monies expended, and the various other efforts made to effect this object; suffice it to say, that, since the year 1807, all the great Powers of Europe have been induced by Great Britain to unite in expressing their abhorrence of this traffic; and, with all, treaties more or less stringent have been made for its extinction.

The United States of America, though from political reasons they have declined any actual co-operation, have not the less denounced and prohibited all traffic in Slaves from Africa. Great Britain has expended, in bounties alone, upwards of 940,000*l.*, and, in the maintenance of the courts established for the adjudication of captured slaves, above 330,000*l.*, besides a very large sum annually in supporting a considerable force of *gruizers* in various parts of the globe, to intercept and destroy the traffic.* An infinitely more important sacrifice has been made in the loss of British life which has been necessarily incurred in pursuing this object. The result, the melancholy result, remains to be stated. The traffic has not been extinguished, has not been diminished, but by the latest accounts from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the numbers exported have increased—the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented; and at the same time it may be stated, that the numbers exported from Africa, are, as compared

* This expenditure, together with that caused by the payments to Foreign Powers on account of the Slave Trade, for the support of liberated Africans, and for other incidental expenses, may be shown from official documents to have amounted to upwards of fifteen millions sterling.

with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five per cent.

Let no man, however, say that these efforts have been thrown away. Who can tell how fearful might not have been the amount of enormity, if those exertions had not been made? Who would presume to say that the very assertion of the great principles of justice and truth has not accelerated the final extirpation of those detested practices? Who could venture to assert that a criminal inaction on the part of Great Britain might not have caused an indefinite continuance of the guilt on the part of other nations?

But the people of England have not succeeded to the extent of their wishes;—Assuming it to be so, what remains to be done?—but led on by the same Christian principles, the same devotion to truth, justice, and humanity, to continue our efforts, and to apply, if possible, other and more efficient remedies in accordance with these great principles.

Animated by these feelings, a number of noblemen and gentlemen of all political opinions, and of Christian persuasions of divers kinds, have formed themselves into a Society for the purpose of effecting the extinction of the Slave Trade; and they now call on the public to unite their exertions for the accomplishment of this great end.

That the British public, apprized of the extent of the enormity, and deeply feeling the guilt and misery now prevailing, will receive with favour the announcement of the formation of this Society, no doubt is entertained; but various opinions do and will exist as to the most fitting means to be adopted for the establishment of peace and tranquillity in Africa.

It is expedient, therefore, to state the leading principles on which this Society is formed, and the measures intended to be pursued.

It is the unanimous opinion of this Society, that the only complete cure of all these evils is the introduction of Christianity into Africa. They do not believe that any less powerful remedy will entirely extinguish the present inducements to trade in human beings, or will afford to the inhabitants of those extensive regions a sure foundation for repose and happiness.

But they are aware that a great variety of views may exist as to the manner in which religious instruction should be introduced; distinctly avowing, therefore, that the substitution of our pure and holy faith for the false religion, idolatry, and superstitions of Africa, is, in their firm conviction, the true ultimate remedy for the calamities that afflict her, they are most anxious to adopt every measure which may eventually lead to the establishment of Christianity throughout that Continent; and hoping to secure the cordial co-operation of all, they proceed to declare that the grand object of their association is *the extinction of the Slave Trade.*

The primary object of this Society will be constantly kept in view under all circumstances of difficulty or discouragement, as the grand end to which their efforts, of whatever character, should be resolutely and unchangeably directed.

As one of the principal means, they have cordially co-operated with Sir Fowell Buxton in inducing Her Majesty's Government to undertake an expedition to the river Niger, with the view of obtaining the most accu-

rate information as to the state of the countries bordering on its mighty waters.

The immense importance of this object alone, as opening a highway into the interior of Africa, and bringing the efforts of British philanthropy into immediate contact with the numerous and populous nations it contains, will be at once perceived and acknowledged.

It will be one of the first duties then of this Society to watch over the proceedings of this expedition, to record its progress, and to digest and circulate the valuable information which it may be confidently expected to communicate.

When this leading step has been taken, it is anticipated that a large field for exertions of a different description will then be opened; but desirable as such exertions may be, it must be clearly understood that this Society, associated solely for benevolent purposes, can bear no part whatever in them; still, in order that a comprehensive view may be taken of the whole, though each part must be accomplished by agencies entirely distinct, it may be expedient to state some of the expectations which are entertained.

One most important department must entirely rest with Her Majesty's Government,—the formation of treaties with the native rulers of Africa for the suppression of the Slave Trade. Such treaties, however, will not be carried into execution, unless those wants which have hitherto been supplied from the profits arising from the sale of the natives, should be satisfied through the means of legitimate commerce. It may appear expedient to the government to obtain from the chiefs the possession of some convenient districts which may be best adapted to carrying on trade with safety and success, and when this is effected, another and wholly distinct Society may perhaps be formed, for the purpose of aiding in the cultivation of those districts, and of promoting the growth of those valuable products for which the soil of those countries is peculiarly fitted.

The present Society can take part in no plan of colonization or of trade. Its objects are, and must be, exclusively pacific and benevolent; but it may, by encouragement and by the diffusion of information, most materially aid in the civilization of Africa, and so pave the way for the successful exertions of others, whether they be directed to colonization and the cultivation of the soil or to commercial intercourse, or to that which is immeasurably superior to them all, the establishment of the Christian faith on the Continent of Africa.

At home this Society will direct its vigilant attention to all which may arise with respect to the traffic in slaves, and give publicity to whatever may be deemed most essential to produce its suppression.

In Africa there are various means whereby it may effectually work to the same end. One of the great impediments at present existing to the advancement of knowledge, is the state of the native languages of Western and Central Africa.

Amongst the many nations which inhabit those regions there are certainly many different dialects, and not improbably several leading languages. A few only of those languages have yet been reduced into writing, and consequently the difficulty of holding intercourse with the natives and imparting knowledge to them is greatly increased. By the

adoption of effectual measures for reducing the principal languages of Western and Central Africa into writing, a great obstacle to the diffusion of information will be removed, and facility afforded for the introduction of the truths of Christianity.

There is another subject, of no light importance, which would legitimately fall within the views of this Institution. In Africa, medical science can scarcely be said to exist, yet in no part of the world is it more profoundly respected. As at present understood by the natives, it is intimately connected with the most inveterate and barbarous superstitions; and its artful practitioners, owing their superiority to this popular ignorance, may be expected to interpose the most powerful obstacles to the diffusion of Christianity and of science.

To encourage therefore the *introduction* of more enlightened views on this subject, to prevent or mitigate the prevalence of disease and suffering among the people of Africa, and to secure the aid of medical science generally to the beneficent objects of African civilization, must be considered of immense importance; nor would its benefits be confined to the native population. It is equally applicable to the investigation of the climate and localities of that country. To render Africa a salubrious residence for European constitutions may be a hopeless task; but to diminish the danger, to point out the means whereby persons proceeding thither may most effectually guard against its perils, may perhaps be effected; nor must it be forgotten that, in however humble a degree this advantage can be attained, its value cannot be too highly appreciated.

Various other measures may come within the legitimate scope of this Institution. It may be sufficient to recapitulate a few;—the encouragement of practical science in all its various branches,—the system of drainage best calculated to succeed in a climate so humid and so hot, would be an invaluable boon to all who frequent that great continent, whatever might be their purpose. Though this Society would not embark in agriculture, it might afford essential assistance to the natives, by furnishing them with useful information as to the best mode of cultivation; as to the productions which command a steady market; and by introducing the most approved agricultural implements and seeds. The time may come when the knowledge and practice of the mighty powers of steam might contribute rapidly to promote the improvement and prosperity of that country.

Even matters of comparatively less moment may engage the attention of the Society. It may assist in promoting the formation of roads and canals. The manufacture of paper, and the use of the printing press, if once established in Africa, will be amongst the most powerful auxiliaries in the dispersion of ignorance and the destruction of barbarism.

It is hoped that enough has now been stated to justify the Society in calling for the aid and co-operation of all who hold in just abhorrence the iniquitous traffic in human beings—of all who deeply deplore the awful crimes which have so long afflicted, and still continue to devastate, Africa—of all who remember with deep sorrow and contrition that share which Great Britain so long continued to have in producing those scenes of bloodshed and of guilt. A variety of collateral means

has thus been suggested sufficiently important and interesting to demonstrate the necessity of a distinct Society, and to entitle it to the best wishes and firmest support of every sincere friend of Africa.

To its success, cordial and united co-operation is indispensable. It proposes to act by means in which the whole community, without regard to religious or political opinions, may concur; and though it does not embrace the establishment, by its own agency, of schools for the spread of religious instruction, it abstains from such an undertaking, not because it does not value the introduction of Christian knowledge as the greatest blessing which can be bestowed on that idolatrous land, but because a diversity of opinion as to the mode of proceeding must of necessity interfere with the unity of action so essential for the common prosecution of such an important object, and thus impede instead of facilitate the objects of this Institution.

It is impossible, however, to close this address without again expressing, in the most emphatic terms, the conviction and earnest hope of all who have already attached themselves as members of this Institution, that the measures to be adopted by them for the suppression of the traffic in slaves—for securing the peace and tranquillity of Africa—for the encouragement of agriculture and commerce—will facilitate the propagation and triumph of that faith which one and all feel to be indispensable for the happiness of the inhabitants of that continent. Howsoever the extension of the Christian religion may be attempted, it is far more likely to take root and flourish where peace prevails, and crime is diminished, than where murder and bloodshed, and the violation of every righteous principle, continue to pollute the land.

*Office of the Society,
15, Parliament Street,
14th February, 1840.*

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OBJECTS OF THIS SOCIETY MORE CONCISELY STATED.

The present Society, adopting the benevolent and pacific portion of Sir Fowell Buxton's scheme, proposes to accomplish the following objects, by agents and other suitable means:—

1. To make the Africans acquainted with the inexhaustible riches of their own soil, and sedulously to direct their attention to its cultivation on a system of free labour. To convince them, moreover, of the immeasurable superiority of agriculture and innocent commerce, even in point of profit, over the Slave Trade which excludes them.
2. To instruct the natives in Agriculture and practical Science; to cultivate small portions of land as models for their imitation; distribute agricultural implements, seeds, plants, &c.; introduce local and other improvements; and suggest and facilitate the means of beneficially exchanging the produce of Africa for the manufactures of Europe.
3. To examine the principal languages of Africa, and reduce them, where advisable, to a written form.
4. To investigate the diseases, climate, and local peculiarities of Africa, for the benefit as well of natives, as of foreign residents and travellers; to send out medicines and practitioners; and thus to separate the practice of Medicine from the horrid superstitions now connected with it.
5. To co-operate by every means in its power with the Government Expedition to the Niger; to report its progress—assist its operations—circulate the valuable information it may communicate; and, generally, to keep alive the interest of Great Britain in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and the welfare of Africa.

Means like these, on an adequate scale, will of course require numerous agencies both at home and abroad, and perhaps further expeditions into the interior of Africa. These must occasion considerable expense, yet if the result be in any good degree commensurate with the design, even a large outlay will be abundantly repaid.

Let it be remembered, then, that Africa has imperative claims on the sympathy of the whole civilized world; that it presents a field of

labour to the Christian philanthropist, the man of science, and the lawful merchant,—that this Society, in fine, under God's blessing, and with the sanction of a benevolent Government, aims to prepare the path, and to facilitate the success of each of these classes of labourers; and thus may be said to consecrate its own efforts—to peace, to liberty, and to God.

APPENDIX D.

Copy of a Letter from SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., to DAVID TURNBULL, Esq.

SIR,

In a note which was added to my book, p. 32, at the very moment of its going to press, I referred to doubts entertained by well informed persons as to the accuracy of my calculation with regard to the Slave Trade in Cuba. This was all that could then be done. On returning to England, I have seen for the first time a copy of your work—I must call it your valuable work—on Cuba, which furnishes me with the data on which these doubts were founded.

I need not say I have examined them with close attention; but I had thought it might be better for the cause to let all differences of opinion among its advocates sleep; but, as the subject has been revived in the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, it seems to me due to the unhappy case to inquire what is really proved by your statements.

You express a conviction, that I have overstated the number of negroes annually imported into that island; that instead of 60,000, as I make it, the number ought not to be pushed beyond 23,000, the estimate of Mr. Tolmé; and you quote the opinion of Dr. Madden, a gentleman whom I have long known and very highly respect. I need not remind you (for you have very fairly acknowledged it, and relieved me from any charge of wilful exaggeration) that I made my statement with some degree of diffidence as to the actual amount. My words were, "It is scarcely practicable to ascertain the number of slaves imported into Cuba; it can only be a calculation on at best a doubtful data."

Had you contented yourself with merely expressing an opinion differing from mine, I might have remained in uncertainty; but when you furnish me with facts, I am constrained to bow to them, and to the inferences legitimately drawn from them. Any preconceived notions, which either Dr. Madden or you or I might have formed must yield to the evidence scattered through your volume.

I now proceed to state the facts adduced by you, which appear to bear strongly on the case, and to furnish the elements of an accurate calculation.

At page 150, you give me as the slave population of Cuba in 1827, 286,942, or for round numbers we will call it 287,000. At page 288,

you say, "On all the estates I have visited, the most tender point with the manager (mayoral) is his bill of mortality ; not that he affects any morbid sensibility on the subject, but because his own character as an economist, in the humblest sense of the term, is seriously involved in it."

You tell us at page 150, "That it was admitted by the managers on the numerous sugar estates which I made it my business to visit, that the average excess of deaths over births amounted to the appalling proportion of 10 per cent. per annum, or cent. per cent. per decade ; thus inferring the necessity for a total renewal of the numbers by importation in the course of the ten years." You nowhere state the average amount of deaths or births on the whole population ; but as sugar is the great staple product of Cuba, exceeding coffee, which comes next to it, in the proportion of about eight arobas of the former to two arobas of the latter (see page 126), I take it for granted that at least one-half of the population is engaged in growing sugar. This portion suffers a diminution of 10 per cent. per annum, or five per cent. upon the whole population.

At page 295, you give me the mortality on coffee estates as not more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. You specify, however, but two cases. In the first, that of Cafetal del Uva, the owner admitted "that the number of hours' labour was sixteen on the average per day, and that when the fruit was coming fast to maturity, it was customary for the overseers to send out their gangs, as often as the moonlight served, to gather it by night. The mortality on coffee properties he gave me at 5 per cent. per annum, which considerably exceeds the general average I obtained from a great number of other inquiries. That average was not more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The information obtained at the Cafetal del Uva was in a great measure confirmed by another very reluctant witness, Don Antonio Garcia, the proprietor of the Cafetal Ubajai. His statement of the rations he allowed to his people was greater than I had heard of elsewhere. These allowances were undoubtedly sufficient, and I should have been delighted to have found them more general in other parts of the island. The daily labour he stated at fifteen hours, and the deaths at 5 per cent. per annum." (Page 296.)

As Don Antonio was a reluctant witness ; as his honour was concerned to make the mortality small ; as it appears that the negroes are generally worked fifteen hours, and at certain seasons by night also ; and as you would have been delighted to find that other masters granted the same allowances of food ; we may safely assume that upon other estates less liberally conducted the mortality did not fall short of that which Don Antonio confessed. On the generality of estates, to the excess of labour, to work by night in certain seasons, to scanty and unwholesome food, must be added another item, which, besides being in every way a terrible calamity to the unhappy race of negroes, must tend to the general decrease of population ; I mean the small proportion of females existing in Cuba. On this point you afford us information at page 62, where you say, "The proportion between the sexes is nearly three to one, I had almost said, in *favour* of the masculine gender." Humboldt, in all the island, calculates not above one female slave to seven males, while in the cities the proportion is one to four, and in the Havana one to two.

Under all these circumstances combined, I should feel myself justified in rating the average mortality on coffee estates as high as 5 per cent.; but in order to be perfectly safe, I will limit myself to your admission of 3½ per cent. (Page 295.)

Upon the whole then, as there is a considerable though undefined excess of deaths over births among the coffee growers, and an actual excess of 10 per cent. among the sugar growers, I am safe in assuming that there is an average diminution of 6 per cent. over the whole population.

There are plantations, says Humboldt, where from 15 to 18 per cent. perish annually. There are others better governed where it is diminished to 6 or 8 per cent.; the average mortality of boyals, recently introduced, is from ten to twelve. Were I endeavouring to make the worst of the case, I should rate it from your documents considerably higher.

You assure us, page 149, "that it is extremely difficult to arrive at any just conclusion as to the recent increase of the slave population." And again, page 151, you assert that "you are far from being satisfied with the accuracy of the old estimate of mortality; and if that should prove erroneous, it would equally establish a fallacy in the estimated amount of importation." This necessity for distrust of the official estimates I can readily understand. The authorities at Cuba are anxious to make the number of the slaves less than it really is, for two very sufficient reasons: that it is not advisable to declare to the negroes the full amount of their physical strength; nor is it expedient to confess the great increase of the population; which, in other words, amounts to a confession of a great Slave Trade.

Warning us against the errors to which we shall thus be exposed if we rely on the published returns, you furnish us with two ingenious methods of checking these errors, and you declare them to be "less liable to suspicion than any official statement of the amount of the negro population:" the first of which consists in comparing the amount of the gross produce at different periods; the second, in instituting a similar comparison between the imports at one period and those at another of provisions intended exclusively for negro consumption.

As the measure of population, I prefer the latter method; because it is likely that in 1827, the negro required as much food as in 1837; and you expressly tell us, that no more than the bare minimum of food necessary to sustain existence was allowed at the latter period on estates the most liberally conducted.

Whereas, if we measure the population by the produce, we may be liable to some error; there is, as you state, an acknowledged deterioration of the soil from being constantly worked without manuring: the same quantity therefore of product might require an additional number of hands.

You tell us, page 154, on the authority of the custom-house, that "the imports of jerked beef and salted cod-fish have increased upwards of 40 per cent. in the eight years ending with 1837."

Now having given your statistics, in all of which I doubt not you are perfectly correct, I fear I can too surely prove two things; first, that you are mistaken in supposing that the Slave Trade of late years has not exceeded 28,000; and secondly, that whereas I spoke with some hesitation as to an annual import of 60,000, I grieve to find that

your facts seem to banish all doubts, and to prove, what I ventured only to conjecture.

These I think are your facts:—

The population in 1827 was 287,000

You seem to think, page 150, that between 1817 and 1827 the average import of slaves was 13,079, say 13,000; and in the year 1838 you reckon it at 23,000: according to this, the average of the ten years would be 18,000; but I would put the estimate still more in favour of your argument; taking 20,000 as the average import from 1827 to 1837, we have imported 200,000

487,000

Deduct for ten years, for excess of deaths over births, 6 per cent. per annum on 287,000, viz., 17,220 for each of the ten years, or in total 172,200

314,800

The population then ought to be 314,800

Now let us see what, according to your own showing, it actually is. Adopting your method of measuring the increase of the slave population by the increase of the imported food which they consume, I find this fact,—that the population had increased in the eight years preceding 1838, 40 per cent., or 5 per cent. per annum. For the two preceding years of the ten, I will only take half what you give, viz., 2½ per cent.; and then, the population being in 1827 287,000

Add 45 per cent. 129,150

It actually is 416,150

Permit me to ask,—how is this? there ought to be only 314,800 persons, if the import is as low as you suppose; yet there are (as we learn from the safest evidence, namely, the food they consume) 416,150.

I say again, there are in the island, in round numbers, above 100,000 more slaves than can be accounted for, by your supposition, that the annual import has only reached 23,000. It may, perhaps, be supposed that the error arises from the number of slaves in 1827 exceeding the official statement; but a moment's reflection will show that this only aggravates the discrepancy. If we suppose the population in 1827 to have been 350,000, and add 45 per cent. to it, namely, 157,500, the total population in 1838 would have been 507,500.

It is remarkable and most melancholy, that you furnish us with some reason to think that this may possibly not be very wide of the truth; for you mention, page 151, that “there are some Spanish authorities who make the whole population amount to 1,000,000, of whom 600,000 are supposed to be either free people of colour or slaves.” The free people of colour were, as you tell us, page 151, in 1838, 110,000. They are not supposed, you say, page 147, to have increased much in the last ten years; consequently this would leave, at the present time, a slave population of not far from 500,000.

But I now turn to the task of proving that “Mr. Buxton's guess,” as you term it, is not very far from the truth.

The population was, in 1837, 416,150. It had increased in the eight preceding years 40 per cent., or on the average 5 per cent. per annum: but the greater part of the increase had taken place in the latter years; for the causes to which you assign it, namely, the effect of the cholera which raged in 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836, and the impetus afforded to the Slave Trade by the abolition of Slavery in 1838, only then existed; and it is still increasing, for you say, page 155, "there cannot be a doubt that the Slave Trade is on the increase."

From these causes it would be but fair to take the increase in 1838 at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Then 6 per cent. for mortality is	.	.	.	24,108
And $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for increase is	.	.	.	31,207
Making an import in 1838 of	.	.	.	55,315

There is the case nearly made out on your own facts. I might aggravate it. Mr. Lobé, the Dutch Consul General at the Havana, has published a statement that the export to Texas in a single year was as high as 15,000. Mr. Tolmé, the British Consul, is of opinion that the number of slaves exported is very inconsiderable; but Mr. Tolmé is, as you tell us, a slave-owner,—a kind of authority, therefore, which is not infallible on these matters. Considerable or inconsiderable, the export to Texas is something, and that something of an extraordinary drain must require an extraordinary amount of slaves to be imported. In the same way the ravages of the cholera, as you tell us, produced an extraordinary chasm; and it is probable that the demand thus created was not fully satisfied in 1837, and therefore required a further supply in 1838. The high price of sugar too may have given an unusual impulse to the growth of sugar, and thereby occasioned more than the usual mortality among those who were already, as you tell us, so dreadfully overworked in growing it.

Each of these causes may have produced an aggravation of the Slave Trade for 1838.

You will observe that I have *confined* myself to the proofs adduced in your work. When these are added to my former reasons, I see but too much cause to dread that my fearful calculation of 60,000 may still be below the reality.

There are two phenomena in the case of Cuba, either of which, had it stood alone, would have been sufficiently remarkable; but co-existing as they do at the same time in the same island, furnish to those who reflect the very darkest picture of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

The first of these is, that the population, especially that large proportion engaged in the cultivation of sugar, is melting away with the most astonishing rapidity. I remember some years ago that I showed the tables of mortality at Mauritius to a distinguished accountant, the Actuary of the Equitable Assurance Company, and asked him, whether he should infer from the facts, that the population was miserable. "Miserable indeed!" was his reply; "if war, and pestilence, and famine were at the same moment pouring all their rage upon a devoted country, they would hardly sweep off in a single year so great a pro-

portion of the people." The mortality in Cuba is greater than that which then existed at the Mauritius.

But couple with this astonishing excess of deaths over births the fact given by yourself, viz., that the population has actually increased 40 per cent. in the eight years preceding your visit to Cuba; and we have an unexampled increase of the population, with an unexampled excess of deaths over births.

The united operation of Slavery and the Slave Trade is indeed inflicting on the negro race in Cuba sufferings and destruction beyond what any description can convey; nothing but a close arithmetical scrutiny can carry any idea of it to the human mind.

There is another point in which your opinion differs from mine. I mean with regard to the price of a slave.

I make the price of a negro on the African coast somewhere about 4*l.* or 20 dollars, whereas you make it from 75 dollars to 100 dollars; and thence you deduce an argument against a main principle of my "Remedy," because you make the temptation to Slave Trade in the mind of the African chief, and therefore the obstacles to legitimate commerce, four times greater than I had calculated. Here again I must appeal from your opinions to your facts.

At page 410 you state, "the king (of Oquery) obtains for the slaves which he sends to the market from 85 to 100 bars; while private individuals get only 75 or 80 bars."

Hence it appears that 100 bars is the extreme price obtained by the king, who in the same page is represented as extremely despotic in his system of trading; and this is in fact 20 per cent. above the usual trade price. But let 100 bars, if you please, be the average price of a slave, we come to the value of a bar.

You state (page 393) with apparent precision, that the value of a bar was 3*s.* 1*½d.*; while at page 411 you say, "the value of this bar is nowhere explained; but in all probability it is a mere money of account, which had originally the Spanish dollar for its basis."

I cannot, however, agree with you that its value is nowhere found, for three pages further on I discover ample information, though not very consistent with other passages of your book. You say (page 414) "that the half-pieces of calico, twenty-eight yards in length, half-pieces of other sorts of goods, and half-pieces of handkerchiefs are sold to the king for seven bars, and to private individuals for eight bars."

Now I am informed by a gentleman, who has himself been long engaged in the legitimate trade on the coast of Africa, that the first cost of the calico alluded to would be about 2*d.* per yard, and allowing 1*d.* more for freight, insurance, &c., would give the value of this half piece of calico 3*s.* 6*d.* sterling. In like manner the piece of handkerchief would cost about 5*s.*, to which, adding 50*s.* per cent. for charges, would make the half piece 3*s.* 9*d.*: so that, taking again the highest valuation, viz., the king's, we have the seven bars equal in the one case to 3*s.* 9*d.*, and in the other to 3*s.* 6*d.*, which would make the bar range from 6*½d.* to 6*d.*

You also state that "three pipes of spirits are equal in value to four and a half human beings," that is, 450 bars, which I am assured by the same authority would make the value of the bar below 9*d.*

Thus, taking the bar at 9d., I find it proved by your own facts, that 100 bars, or the price of a slave, is not 15*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, or ranging from 75 dollars to 100 dollars, as you elsewhere reckon it, but 3*l.* 15*s.*, or 5*s.* lower than my estimate.

I have thus stated my views, and certainly in no unfriendly spirit. I highly estimate your work, especially that part which refers to the use made of the American Flag in covering the Slave Trade. This I trust may be widely circulated, and rouse effectually the honest indignation of many in that enlightened country.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

July 3, 1840.

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